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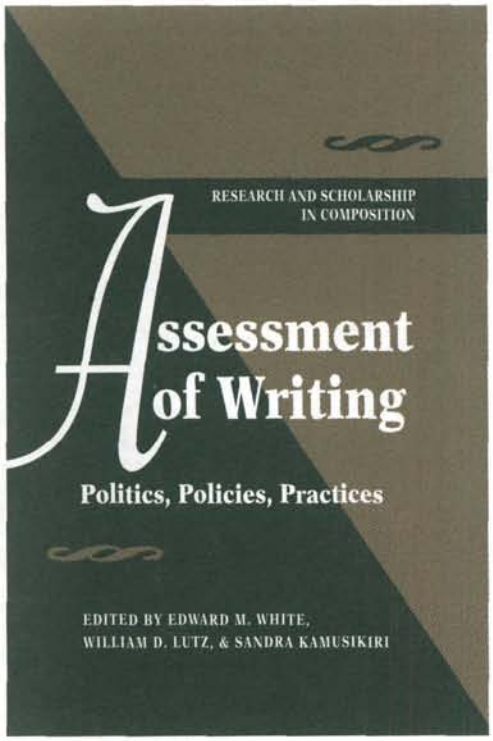
RESEARCH AND SCHOLARSHIP IN COMPOSITION
Assessment of Writing
Politics, Policies, Practices
EDITED BY EDWARD M. WHITE, WILLIAM D. LUTZ, & SANDRA KAMUSIKIRI

Assessment of Writing

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Edward M. White, William D. Lutz, and Sandra Kamusikiri, eds.

THE ASSESSMENT of student writing has broad consequences both for individual lives and for society at large. How writing is evaluated and judged can determine which students receive opportunity, gain power and privilege, and become successful. At the same time, writing assessment influences the educational curriculum, the national perception of the state of literacy, and the prestige of higher education. The contributors to this thought-provoking new collection of essays focus on these often unrecognized dimensions—on the politics of assessment—because, as the editors note in the introduction, "assessment is unavoidably a political act."

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The contributors come from a variety of disciplines—English, education, law, sociolinguistics, program evaluation, institutional research, and statistics—and from two- and four-year institutions as well as the Educational Testing Service. The diversity of their concerns ensures that this volume will engage and inform anyone concerned with composition, including researchers, teachers, graduate students, program administrators, and policy makers.

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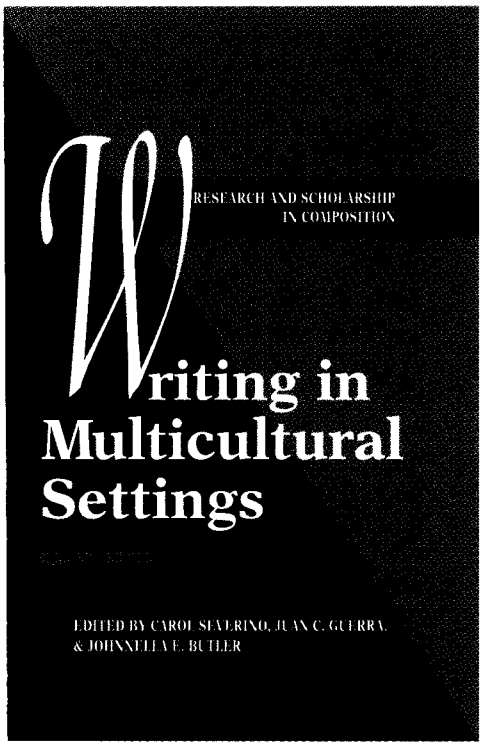
RESEARCH AND SCHOLARSHIP IN COMPOSITION
Writing in Multicultural Settings
EDITED BY CAROL SEVERINO, JUAN C. GUERRA, & JOHNNELLA E. BUTLER

March 1997 • c. 375 pp.
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Writing in Multicultural Settings

Carol Severino, Juan C. Guerra, and Johnnella E. Butler, eds.

THE TWENTY essays and four responses ("cross-talks") in this volume, the fifth in the Research and Scholarship in Composition series, confront the challenges presented by the racial, ethnic, class, gender, religious, age, and physical-ability differences among today's writing students. The contributors, who teach in classrooms and writing centers at a variety of private and public institutions, discuss their immersion in students' discourses, lives, and cultures and balance descriptions of their teaching experiences with careful and critical reflection. The result is a fascinating, coherent collection that poses a variety of key questions, including:

- How different are students from one another and from teachers?
- How much should teachers emphasize difference or similarity in their teaching?
- How do underrepresented students feel in mainstream classes that stress difference? How do mainstream students feel in classrooms that stress difference?
- How different are students' discourses from academic discourses?
- How do expectations about student writing abilities differ among institutions?
- What opportunities should students have to maintain and express their different discourses or native-language discourse patterns?
- How different is first-language writing and teaching from second-language writing and teaching?
- What opportunities do students have to write about their different histories and traditions?

The volume begins and ends with sections examining the tensions and conflicts in the classroom; the two sections in between focus more specifically on texts and curricula and on teaching English as a second language. The cross-talks that conclude each section synthesize and critique the essays.

Writing in Multicultural Settings is essential, thought-provoking reading for college administrators, writing teachers, and scholars and students in composition studies.

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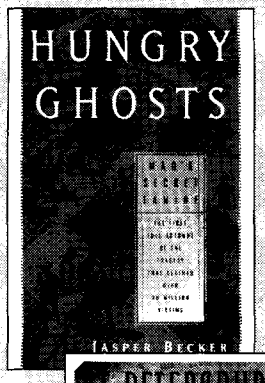

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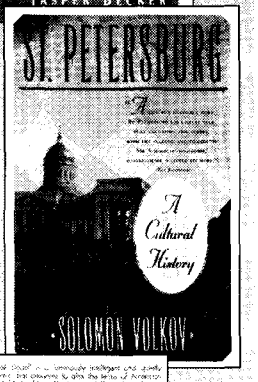

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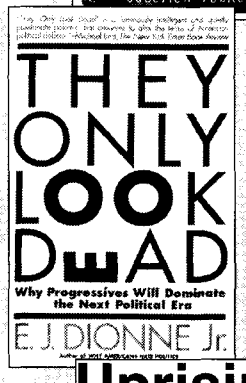

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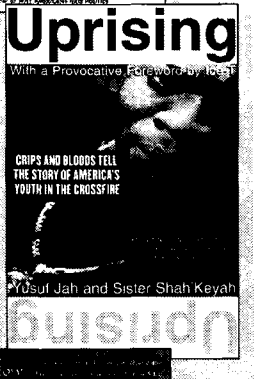
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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GONE SOUTH?

I have read with great interest the recent profiles in *Lingua Franca* of neoconservative intellectuals, their careers, and their goals. Given their present influence in the cultural arena, those of us who proudly belong to the left-leaning majority of academics should welcome further informative articles of this sort.

I was disturbed, however, by the apparent lack of critical perspective in James Surowiecki's portrait of Eugene Genovese ["Genovese's March," December/January]. While Surowiecki may have intended to let Genovese's contradictions and more outrageous statements "speak for themselves," I found this attitude of ironic admiration for the "tough old bird" more troubling than even a straightforward hagiography would have been.

What seems abundantly clear is that, however insightful Genovese's work on Southern history may be, he has profound shortcomings in his more general ideas about history. Overlaying his specialized insight is an anachronistic, irrationalist "great man" theory of history. Great men are great because of the fervor and sincerity of their belief, which allows them to galvanize followers and exercise authority. Hence we can admire Stalin, Mussolini, Goebbels, and Andropov (all mentioned affirmatively by Genovese in the article) for their will and dedication, their "toughness" in the face of a resistant world. Such a view is thoroughly values-blind and atavistic in its bracketing out of the substantive content of these men's ideas in favor of a blind celebration of the charismatic energies that led their followers, Genovese himself in Stalin's case, to believe in them.

The pedagogical analogue, which Genovese also celebrates, is an authoritarian relation of teacher to class and sectarian relations between pupils. As suggested by his positive remarks about his teacher Hans Rosenberg, even lying and distortions of fact may be justified in supporting a strongly held belief.

It takes no professional historian to see the absurd, often horrific results were such a view of history and historical argumentation taken seriously. Are we to prefer Reinhard Heydrich over Heinrich Himmler because the Prague-based SS leader had none of the effete aestheticism and queasiness of his more successful rival in genocide, and to suggest that the Czech partisans who assassinated Heydrich did the right thing solely because it was the expression of their tough-mindedness and iron will? Are we also to say, too bad about the Cambodian people's dying in droves, but those Khmer Rouge were some "tough boys" who really believed in their anti-intellectual, collectivist utopia and did what it took to make a real go of it? Are we truly to credit the notion that the elderly head of Brezhnev's secret police would have been the man to lead the Soviet Union through the changes necessary for it to have survived as a political entity? Such questions, it seems to me, can be answered in the negative by any intelligent person with a reasonable amount of historical knowledge and moral sense Yet this famous, often brilliant historian appears stymied at this basic level of historical and moral reasoning.

I find it most unfortunate, however, that Genovese's wrongheaded appeal to charisma proved so contagious to the writer of his profile. Because Genovese, from all indications of Surowiecki's well-written piece, *is* charismatic and fascinating. Yet many of his views, and the ways he chooses to express them, are also repugnant and wrong. Surowiecki, in setting aside his critical judgment, asks his readers to yield to his fascination with this "great man."

TYRUS MILLER
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE
YALE UNIVERSITY

I read with some perplexity Eugene Genovese's apparently favorable reference to "corporatism," cited by James Surowiecki in "Genovese's March." Perplexity, because this word, as Genovese has better reason to know than most, was virtually synonymous with fascism in the Italy of the Twenties and Thirties. Palmiro Togliatti, the leader of the Italian Communist Party in the postwar period, offered this summary in his 1935 *Lectures on Fascism:*

> 1) the corporative regime is a regime that is inseparable from total political reaction, from the destruction of every democratic liberty; 2) the corporative regime corresponds to an advanced economic stage and is a form through which finance capitalism seeks to strengthen its positions in the country's economy; 3) the state form must be totalitarian so as to force the large working masses under its control; 4) the corporations are an instrument for suppressing any attempt by the working masses to liberate themselves; 5) the corporations are an instrument for the ideological propaganda of class collaboration; 6) hiding behind the mask of an "anti-capitalist" ideology, the corporations represent the most reactionary organization of the capitalist regime.

Is Genovese in effect declaring his own sympathy for fascism or for certain aspects of fascism? If so, that would go some way to explaining his hostility to political correctness and multiculturalism.

JOHN BEVERLY
PROFESSOR OF HISPANIC
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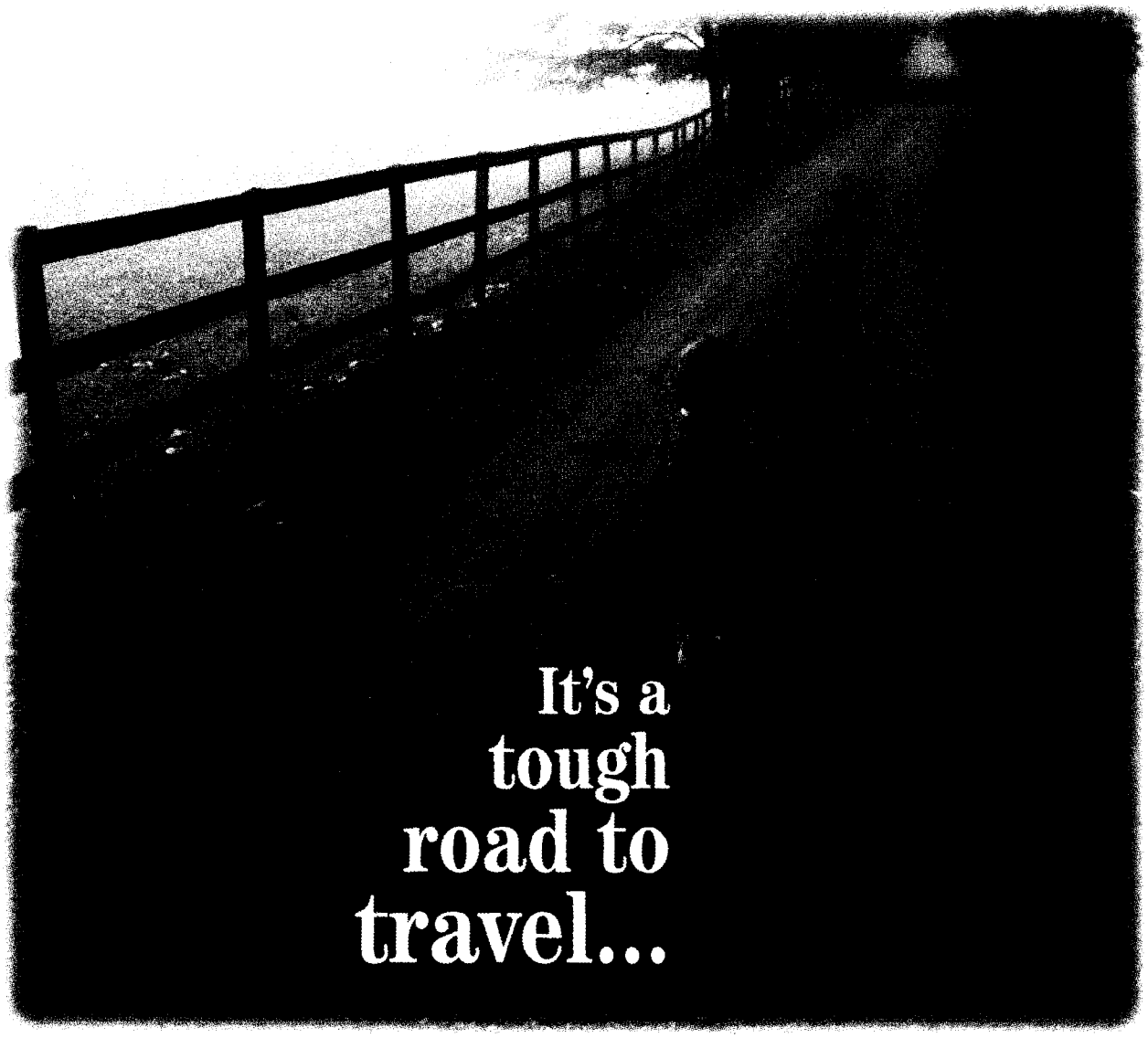

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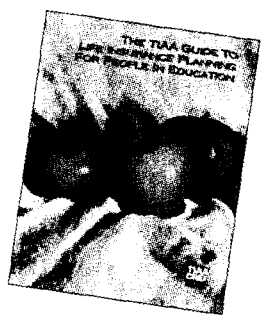

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Rachel Shteir has written an important piece about standardized testing in America ["Screen Test," *LF,* December/January]. But, in describing the computer-adaptive GRE (CAT), she makes one serious error. It is not the case that students may see their scores before deciding whether or not to cancel them. As with the paper-based test, a student must decide whether to cancel the scores before he or she ever sees them. When I finished the CAT in October, my last act was to choose between two onerous little ovals. If I clicked on one, I would see my scores and they would forever be part of my GRE file. If I clicked on the other, the score would remain hidden forever, and no record of my taking the test would even exist—like the unfortunates in *Catch-22*, the scores would be "disappeared."

This clarification is important. Being allowed to see the scores and then cancel them would mean that enterprising people, taking a couple of years off before graduate school, could pay to take the test twenty times, and only their final, best score would matter. The rich and leisured would have an advantage unlike any that presently exists.

MARK OPPENHEIMER
WASHINGTON, D.C.

I would like to correct some misrepresentations in Emily Nussbaum's otherwise fair and informative account of the impact of *Women's Ways of Knowing* in the decade after its publication ["The Group," *LF,* December/January].

Nussbaum quotes me as "bemusedly" ruminating about who is to blame for accusations of essentialism. I disclaim this. Certainly I (and we of *WWK*) do not "blame" Carol Gilligan (after all, we dedicate our new book, *Knowledge, Difference, and Power,* to her). Furthermore, I do not tend to think in terms of blame, since I believe blaming only furthers the antagonisms and factionalization within feminism. When I spoke to Nussbaum, I suggested to her that the real story in the post-*WWK* decade is why theories about women/men/gender offered in the Eighties (whether ours or anyone else's) have become anathema to certain academic feminists in the Nineties. Why has it become impossible to talk about "women"? What has transpired in feminist thinking and strategizing over the last decade that has led to name-calling (labeling one group of theorists "essentialists," and therefore beyond redemption)? Why are we pitting ourselves (and being pitted) against one another?

Feminists need to move beyond the oversimplifications of one another's work and intentions and urge the media to do likewise. (For example, for Nussbaum to call *WWK* "an ode to women's intuition" misrepresents the book's message and contributes to its negative reading.)

What has been left unexamined and unexplained by the media and feminists who are preoccupied with staying on the theoretical high road is the impact that books such as *WWK* have had on the general public and on parts of academia. I am proud that *WWK* has been personally meaningful and politically useful to vast numbers of women and men of different races and classes (contrary to what Carol Stack asserts), teachers and students, community workers, and clinicians who have found that the focus on "ways of knowing" resonates with personal experience and helps name the feeling of having what you know and how you know minimized and shunted to the side. Others tell us that *WWK* has aided in opening up the important issues of how knowledge claims are established and evaluated on both a personal and an institutional level and why some approaches to knowing are devalued in America today.

To be sure, *WWK* can be charged with doing too little to address the important factors of class and race (even though our sample was ethnically and racially mixed and included almost 30 percent working-class women). In our new book, *Knowledge, Difference, and Power*, several essays highlight these issues.

NANCY RULE GOLDBERGER
PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY
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Emily Nussbaum's "The Group" will, I fear, seriously mislead your readers. Questions about "women's ways of knowing" have become so inflamed in today's academy that the words themselves have become unspeakable. But this state of affairs cannot be "blamed" on the authors of *WWK*, or on Carol Gilligan, or, indeed, on any individual authors. What we must ask ourselves is not who used these unspeakable words, but how did the words become unspeakable?

Fifteen years ago, questions about the intellectual and moral implications of gender differences in socialization provided useful and productive sites for study. In some countries (Sweden, for example), they still do. But, in late-twentieth-century America, such questions have become so inflamed that, in many places, they cannot even be asked. Not surprisingly, feminists everywhere are rushing to get out of the fire; more surprising (and certainly sadder) is the enthusiasm with which many academics (even feminists) seem wont to add fuel.

The main point, however, is that the fire itself—and not the authors of books (like *WWK*) used to feed the conflagration—is the cause for alarm, and, therefore, that which we most urgently need to understand. When will *Lingua Franca* take on its responsibility to help its readers in this need?

EVELYN FOX KELLER
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE, MIT

Emily Nussbaum responds:
I am surprised by Fox Keller's fiery letter, as our conversation dealt mostly with her frustration that *WWK* had led to essentialist misreadings of her own work. I sympathize with Goldberger's concerns regarding feminist infighting; nonetheless, my representation of Goldberger's comments is accurate—as the transcript of our interview confirms. Whether *WWK* can be properly described as an "ode to women's intuition" is a question I will leave readers to judge for themselves.

continued on page 67

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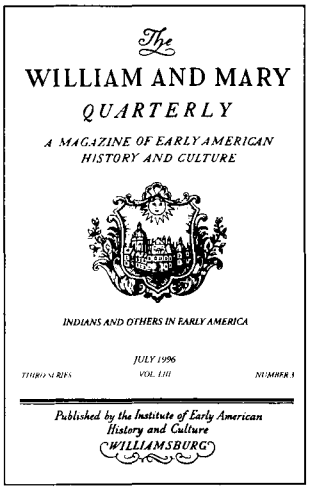
Field

PERHAPS SHAKESPEARE'S plays were written by Francis Bacon after all. Maybe Homer didn't actually compose the *Iliad*. It's even possible that the Salem witch possessions arose from hallucinations brought on by indigestion. Then again, maybe not. That's why we rely on academics to separate fact from fancy.

Fancy is a wily seductress, however. For nearly twenty years, the University of Vermont's Donald A. Grinde Jr. and Nebraska's Bruce E. Johansen have written separately and together in defense of the "Iroquois influence thesis." Their claim is that the Iroquois Confederacy and Great Law of Peace—which united six Native American nations while the colonists were still parading the Union Jack—had a formative effect on the design of the United States government. According to Grinde and Johansen's book *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (California, 1991), Founding Fathers James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams enjoyed repeated contact with Iroquois Indians, from whom they derived inspiration for the Constitution's ideas about the separation of powers, representative democracy, and federalism.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WILLIAMSBURG

Grinde and Johansen do not claim to have introduced the notion. That honor belongs to William E. Griffis's 1891 book, *Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations;* earlier in this century, J.N.B. Hewitt, an ethnologist at the Smithsonian Institution, was a noted proponent of the idea. But Griffis's work received little attention from historians until Grinde and Johansen resurrected his arguments two decades ago. Since then, they've been joined in their advocacy by Oren Lyons, who teaches American studies at SUNY Buffalo.

In 1987 their efforts paid off: New York State incorporated the thesis into its eleventh-grade history curriculum. The following year, Lyons, a member of the Onondaga Nation, won over Colorado Democratic representative Ben Nighthorse Campbell, himself a Native American (and now a Republican senator), and successfully lobbied Congress to pass a joint resolution acknowledging "the contributions of the Iroquois Confederacy of Nations to the development of the United States Constitution." More recently, James Loewen included the assertion as fact in his 1995 best-seller, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New Press).

But the ascendance of the Iroquois influence thesis may be short-lived. In the July 1996 issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly,* the journal of record for students of eighteenth-century America, two colonialist scholars tried to definitively discredit the theory, which, according to one of them, depends on words "misquoted, misattributed, decontextualized, inaccurately paraphrased, liberally edited, and misinterpreted." Among the statements that Philip Levy, a doctoral candidate at William and Mary, and Samuel Payne Jr., a professor of political science at Ferrum College, object to are the following: Thomas Jefferson had deep respect for the Iroquois, and even promoted intermarriage with them; James Madison was inspired by the Iroquois's notion of freedom; John Adams conducted an interview in Boston with Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, about the details of the Iroquois compact; and Benjamin Franklin, in the course of his Indian diplomacy, looked to the Iroquois Confederacy as a model for the impending confederation.

In fact, Levy counters, Jefferson *predicted,* but did not promote, intermarriage—and it was because the Indians had inferior laws, not better ones, that Jefferson foresaw such unions as inevitable. As for Madison, writes Payne, he

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IROQUOIS INDIAN

was exposed to the Iroquois but never spoke of any influence; the mistake originates in a 1948 biography of Madison. Payne points out that Madison cites numerous influences for the Constitution in *The Federalist Papers,* including the Amphictyonic council, the Achaean league, and the Swiss Confederacy—but never mentions the Iroquois Confederacy. And while Franklin certainly had respect for the Iroquois, says Payne, he never connected them directly with the 1754 Albany Plan of Union (the colonies' early confederation plan), as Grinde and Johansen aver. What Franklin actually wrote was: "It would be a strange Thing, if *Six Nations* of ignorant Savages should be capable of forming a Scheme for such an Union, and be able to execute it in such a Manner, as that it has subsisted Ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like Union should be impracticable for ten or a Dozen *English* Colonies"—in context, hardly a ringing endorsement.

In a fifteen-page reply, Grinde and Johansen do not challenge Levy's assertion about Jefferson, or Payne's about Madison. They concede another of Levy's points—that John Adams could not have met with Joseph Brant in Boston because Adams was in London at the time—and promise that "the error will be remedied" in future editions of their book. But they continue to maintain that Franklin encouraged the colonists to emulate the Iroquois model. Their strongest remonstration: that Levy and Payne "suffer from imprecision in the delineation of our case"; and that, "having demanded proof," Levy "fails to define his term."

Be that as it may, the scholarly community is unswayed by the reply. Wilcomb Washburn, former director of American studies at the Smithsonian Institution, emphasizes that Indian influence, while real, was limited. "Grinde and Johansen built this incredible superstructure on inferences, suggestions, and leaping to conclusions. I'm more sympathetic to Indian influence than a lot of scholars, but I simply can't go along with it." According to William and Mary's James Axtell, a leading advocate of interpreting eighteenth-century American history as a cultural contest between natives and colonists, the 1988 Congressional resolution owes its existence to "a public-relations effort by one small faction of the Iroquois folk," led by SUNY Buffalo's Lyons. And when David Hackett Fischer, the noted Brandeis scholar of the early-modern era, is asked how much credence the Iroquois influence thesis is given, he is terse: "With me, zero."

One wonders why the Iroquois influence camp wishes to establish the native roots of a Constitution under which Native Americans suffered more than a century of brutal subjugation. Surely the Iroquois's Great Law of Peace is worth studying for its own merits. Dickinson College's Daniel K. Richter, a prominent historian of Native America, understands the appeal of the thesis but thinks that Grinde, Johansen, and Lyons's efforts are misplaced. "It would be better to look at the *real* ways that the state and federal governments have been shaped by interactions with Indians," he says. The most usable past, in other words, may be the real one.

MARK OPPENHEIMER

BETWEEN DEBATES ON the good, the true, and the beautiful, academic philosophers are sometimes faced with genuinely sticky questions. Suppose Wittgenstein were alive today, for example. Would he have been able to publish installments of the *Philosophical Investigations* in a peer-reviewed journal, next to articles such as "How Innocent is Mereology?" and "Ultra-maximalist Minimalism"? Would any American

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university have offered him tenure?

The University of Chicago might have let him go. At least that's how it seems to Chicago professor Howard Stein, who's up in arms over a recent promotion dispute at the university. In 1994 the philosophy department voted unanimously to promote a talented associate professor. But university administrators overruled the recommendation. Stein, a full professor and distinguished philosopher of science, was outraged. In a letter published in the November issue of the American Philosophical Association's *Proceedings and Addresses*, he denounced the university's promotion standards in the case. More shockingly, he announced that he had requested a demotion from his own post as full professor. Although Stein isn't taking a pay cut, in university publications he is now listed as an associate professor.

What could make an academic philosopher sacrifice his rank? A question of logic and ethics, of course. Stein fears that the university is adhering to overly rigid criteria for "excellence"—criteria that simply aren't appropriate to the philosophical discipline. According to Stein's letter in *Proceedings and Addresses,* the dean of the Division of Humanities, musicologist Philip Gossett, had said that the university would exclude from consideration for promotion any publications other than "'a book... accepted by a major press'" or "'articles [published] in independently peer reviewed journals.'" In correspondence with the philosophy department's chair, Dean Gossett apparently also stipulated that the peer review had to be blind.

In most of the humanities, book publication and peer review are the most important measures of distinction. But philosophers are nothing if not iconoclasts, and the university's guidelines in this case do appear to be out of line with the standards of their profession. Many of the country's eminent philosophers—UC-Berkeley's Donald Davidson, for instance—have achieved their distinction through writing journal articles, not books. And many of those articles have skirted the conventional standards of peer review. The prestigious *Journal of Philosophy,* for instance, doesn't use blind peer review at all. *Ethics,* another highly respected journal in the field, frequently invites submissions and currently does not practice blind peer review either.

In fact, if the measure of excellence described by the dean were applied to Chicago's entire coterie of full professors, it's not clear how many would make the grade. For example, not only has philosopher of aesthetics Ted Cohen never written a book, but during the more than twenty years he's been a tenured professor at Chicago, everything he's published has been solicited. "I haven't published something that's been refereed the regular way for years," he says. Stein's own record isn't very different. "A significant proportion of my own publications have been of the sort that this policy would not take account of," he says. "It's never entered my mind that there could be an invidious distinction made between these publications and the sort referred to in the policy."

Dean Gossett denies that the recent promotion decision reflects a wholesale change in policy. In fact, he says, the university has never articulated a policy regarding criteria for promotion. In this particular case, he says, the university felt that publications in blind-peer-reviewed journals were necessary to justify an offer of tenure. (Gossett has recently sent a letter to the editor of *Proceedings and Addresses* rebutting Stein's claims.)

In any case, the entire debate comes at a time when the national rank of Chicago's philosophy department has been slipping—from seventh place in 1982 to twelfth place in 1993, according to the National Research Council. The perception of trouble may have made most members of the administration especially chary about promoting someone who didn't have a conventionally credentialed curriculum vitae.

Finally, however, the contretemps may be little more than a novel variation on a familiar theme: the power struggle between faculty and administration. Says Dean Gossett, "Some members of the philosophy department seem to believe that if they make a recommendation for promotion it will automatically be accepted. That is not the case. The decisions are carefully reviewed at all levels of the university, including the provost and the assistant provost, who will look at the case carefully to make sure they understand the standards being used." When the Chicago philosophy department comes up for external review in a couple of years, the issue of professional standards is likely to be at the forefront. Happily for Wittgenstein, the debate comes nearly fifty years too late.

KIM PHILLIPS

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WHAT'S THE WORST WAY to choose a chair for your political science department? Fordham University in New York has at least two suggestions: Try picking a name out of a hat. If that doesn't work out, try choosing someone behind closed doors—while most of the faculty is away on summer vacation. Both methods have recently been tested in Fordham's political science department, and the results have hardly shown the illustrious Jesuit university at its best. The department faculty are divided and acrimonious, and the American Association of University Professors is looking into a possible violation of faculty prerogatives on the part of the university administration.

The odd story begins in 1995, when Fordham integrated its two campuses—Rose Hill, in the Bronx, and Lincoln Center, in Manhattan—into a unified structure. Like all departments, the political science faculty was told to choose a chair for the newly unified department on a one-year interim basis. But as straightforward as that may sound, asking sixteen ideologically contentious political scientists to take part in an election was asking for trouble.

At a departmental meeting on April 21, 1995, two professors—William Baumgarth (a conservative Aquinas expert and the outgoing chair of the Rose Hill department) and Nicole Fermon (a Lincoln Center Rousseau scholar with a special interest in feminist theory) received eight votes each, both short of the nine votes needed to send either name on to the administration for affirmation. With a second ballot needed, several of Baumgarth's supporters came up with what they believed to be a clever plan: They suggested that everyone vote for both candidates, so that both names might get the necessary number of votes to be sent up to the administration. Once this was done, the Baumgarth partisans assumed that the school's then-vice president of academic affairs, Reverend James Loughran, would choose their man. After all, as a Bronx-based traditionalist, Baumgarth was the candidate most likely to please the school's top brass.

The political scientists, it turned out, had only outmaneuvered themselves. On the second count, Baumgarth again received eight votes, but Fermon now had eleven, and thus the department's nomination—virtually guaranteeing her the chair. The Baumgarth allies—two of whom happen to be election

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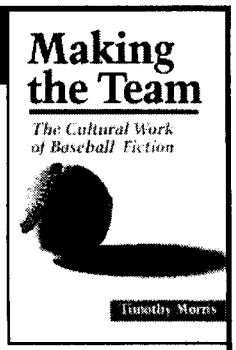

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specialists—were furious at their miscalculation. "You may think you've won," declared one as they stormed out of the room, "but you're wrong. You really lost."

Even as the official ballot results were on their way to Loughran, the Baumgarth faction wrote Loughran to explain what had happened, calling the vote a sham. Loughran, faced with open dissension in the department, came up with a novel idea. Gathering his secretary and others around him, he put Baumgarth's and Fermon's names in a hat. Fermon's came out first, and the chair was hers after all.

Peace was not at hand, however. A year later, when Fermon's one-year appointment was up, she was renominated by the department in a nine-to-seven vote. But this time the new vice president for academic affairs, Robert Carrubba, made it clear that he would not be appointing her. Instead, he sent out a memo dated August 19, 1996, calling for a department meeting in one week. "In accordance with the University Statutes," he wrote, "our purpose will be to identify a person, other than the original nominee, to serve as department chair."

Called at short notice while school was out of session, the August 26 meeting did not have a quorum of department faculty, as several professors noted at the outset. Nonetheless, Carrubba proceeded to solicit names and three were offered. Two days later, David Lawrence, a Rose Hill faculty member and original supporter of Baumgarth's, was named the new chair.

Just what is it that the administration doesn't like about Nicole Fermon? Lawrence points to long-standing pedagogical divisions "over professional identity" and notes Fermon's decision to open up curricular discussions to all departmental faculty, regardless of their area of expertise. For his part, Carrubba reportedly gave several reasons for refusing to nominate Fermon at a department meeting in December. Among them was that she wasn't available enough to faculty and students, and had acted in an "insubordinate" manner when she refused to accept a Baumgarth supporter as deputy after her own candidate was rejected. Fermon's supporters, meanwhile, suggest that the administration disapproved of her because she was a feminist, a progressive, and had challenged the Rose Hill style of "governance by minority," as one put it.

In any case, Carrubba's interventions into the political science department's business have been serious enough to warrant the attentions of the American Association of University Professors. On the Fordham campus, too, the departmental divisions have stirred up some trouble, garnering headlines in the campus paper such as DIRTY POLITICS. In a happier development for Fordham administrators, the faculty senate has found that the administration did not violate any university statutes by failing to have a quorum on August 26. "The decision was that a simple majority [of department faculty] was needed," says philosophy professor Dominic Balestra, who served on the faculty senate committee considering the political science complaint. "The acting chair, David Lawrence, is legitimate."

Legitimate, perhaps, but not universally well liked. Lawrence put off scheduling a department meeting until the fifth month of his term. ("People felt they would serve no purpose, I among them," he explains.) But he does still hope that "some reconciliation can take place" in the near future. His appointment, however, is only for one year, and when asked whether he'll stay on as chair long enough to bring that peace, Lawrence sighs. "My God," he says. "I hope not."

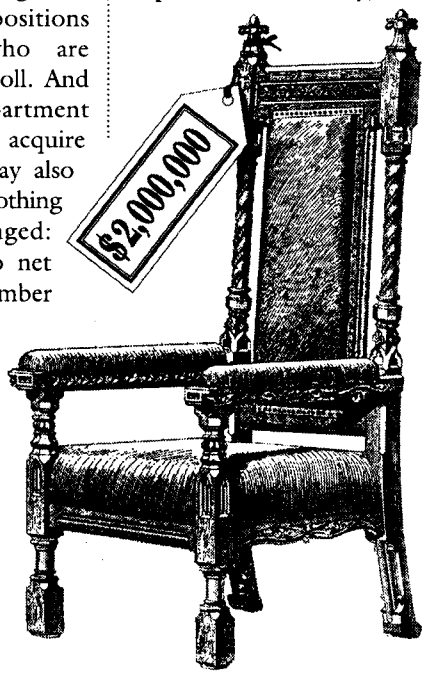
THOMAS GOETZ

IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES, according to a New York University pamphlet, "even the grandest room in a nobleman's castle rarely held more than a single piece of furniture that could be called a chair." And so it was a significant event back then when an instructor was promoted to professor and presented with an actual chair to call his own. Nowadays, of course, even TAs get their own places to sit, and the endowed chair, while still a symbol of academic arrival, is an increasingly common item of campus furniture.

"What we would love to do is endow all our faculty," says Steve Oliveira, associate vice president for development at Brown University. His school recently completed a fund drive that took in $84 million more than its $450 million goal and endowed 53 new professorships, at the price of at least $1 million per. After a recent ten-year, billion-dollar campaign, NYU added to its stable more than 90 endowed chairs, bringing its total to 152.

All of these new chairs might sound like good news for cash-strapped departments, but there's a catch: Whereas in the old days an endowed chair was often filled after a nationwide search for the ideal scholar, today's administrators are increasingly bestowing their newly endowed positions upon scholars who are already on the payroll. And so, while a department might be thrilled to acquire a new chair, it may also soon find out that nothing much has changed: There has been no net increase in the number of its faculty or even in its funding.

What's going on here is that universities are using their endowment money to support creative "budget shifting." And that can be a remarkably lucrative activity. NYU associate vice president David Koehler explains: "Basically, the



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money you would have used to pay a professor's salary can be used for something else because you can now pay that salary out of an endowment." In other words, the endowed chair becomes a canny way of funding the mundane—hardback volumes for the library, a few new acres of asphalt, perhaps green spray paint for the quad.

So, how much must a donor cough up? Development officers agree that the price of a chair has more to do with the "dynamics of fundraising" than with the actual cost of paying a professor's salary. As a result, prices tend to vary according to the wealth of a school's alumni: While Harvard requires $2.5 million, the University of North Carolina requests a mere $333,000 (which is matched by $167,000 from the state) from its philanthropists.

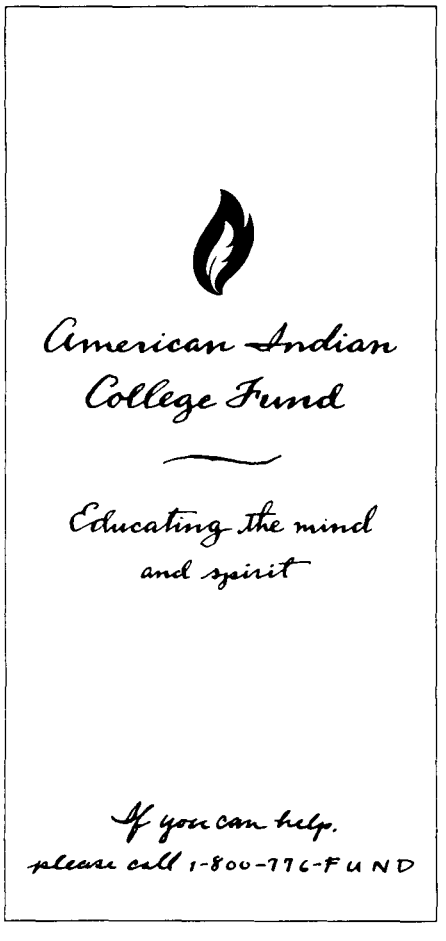
Even at the going rate of $1.5 million, however, a chair endowment may not be enough to pay a professor's salary and the chair's attendant costs in perpetuity. And that is all the more incentive for a university to offer a new chair to a professor from its own ranks. After all, nobody likes a gift that ends up costing them money.

Universities may deserve credit for realizing the endowed chair's full financial potential. But one wonders if in doing so, they risk devaluing the very resource they are relying on. After all, the University of Minnesota has 241 chairs today. In 1985, it only had 17. As the endowed chair's exclusivity—and corresponding prestige—begin to fade, schools may also have to find a new resource to sell. Coming soon: the endowed cubicle.

TYLER THORESON

NOW THAT THE NEW School for Social Research is seventy-eight years old, the powers that be at the Manhattan institution have decided that it's finally time for a name change. But they're not dropping the "New": On December 4, President Jonathan F. Fanton announced at a special convocation that the New School's trustees had voted to change the name to "New School University." Huh?

In his speech, Fanton explained that the old name, although it had "acquired a charm for me," was "a source of puzzlement"—not least because its reference to social research concealed "the fact that over half our degree students are in the arts."



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Indeed, revenue from Parsons School of Design, Mannes College of Music, and the New School's other arts programs makes up 60 percent of the university's tuition income. So the hope is that the new name will, as Fanton put it, help "clarify" the situation.

Of course, there's that little redundancy problem—and the fact that the new name makes no reference to the arts. Fanton acknowledged these dilemmas in passing at the convocation: "Let us hope the odd juxtaposition of 'School' and 'University' will continue to spark a conversation about why we are different." He suggested that the new name was a compromise between what he alluded to as "fairly radical ideas" and the desire to maintain some continuity with the school's history.

Not everyone is happy with Fanton's decision. Students have been protesting (chanting "The new name sucks!" and the like) and circulating petitions in opposition to the change. "It's a bad idea, and it's an embarrassing, stupid name," says Jason Kosnoski, editor of *Rant & Rave,* the graduate student newsletter. Professor Agnes Heller agrees. "A name carries history," she asserts. "One does not need to explain that the New School is a university, but from now on we shall need footnotes to identify this institution as the one where so many great scholars were teaching. The present does not tolerate variety, it swallows up the past."

The administration did indeed consider other, more "radical" names, according to senior staff members. (The students, faculty, and alumni, not being formally consulted, did not.) John Dewey University was one striking suggestion. The problem is that Dewey, although involved with the school and its founding (and constantly mentioned in its brochures), was never a permanent member of its faculty. Oh, sure, he was a friend and supporter, but he preferred to stay safely uptown at Columbia. So, what about one of the other original faculty members? Unfortunately, Thorstein Veblen University doesn't exactly trip off the tongue.

Why not something that conjures up New York, like... Gotham University? This, too, was considered and rejected—perhaps in fear of how DC Comics's legal staff might respond. The third runner-up was perhaps the most promising: Greenwich Village University. Alas, the trustees must have realized that there already *is* a Greenwich Village University. It's called NYU.

ROGER D. HODGE

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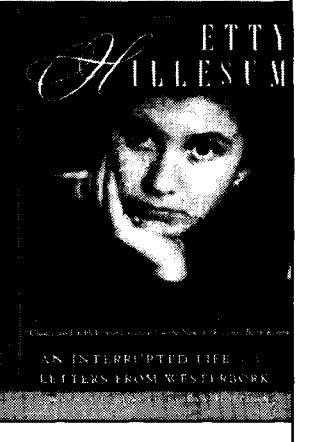

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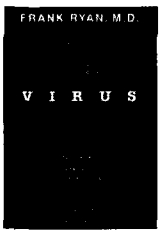

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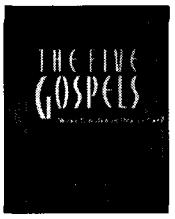

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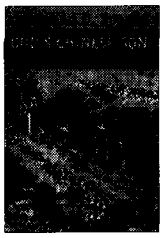

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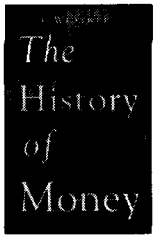

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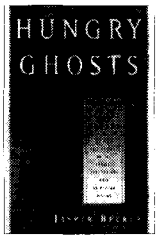

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This is the shocking account of the mass starvation of 30 million people in Mao's China and the cover-up that kept it from the world for more than two decades.
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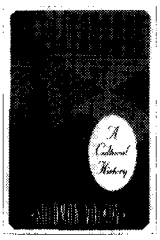

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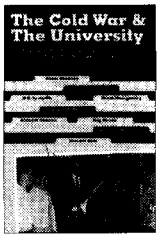

The Cold War & The University
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Breakthrough

WE ASKED CONNOISSEURS OF THE URBAN MILIEU—SIX SCHOLARS, A PHOTOGRAPHER, AND A CARTOONIST—TO SHARE THEIR FAVORITE NEW BOOKS ABOUT

Sharon Zukin, professor of sociology at Brooklyn College and the City University of New York's Graduate Center and author of *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (California, 1991) and *The Cultures of Cities* (Blackwell, 1995).

"The best books about cities dare us to see spaces—buildings, streets, or neighborhoods—as statements about inequality and domination. My three favorites demonstrate the virtues of an eclectic materialism. **Mike Davis**'s ***City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*** (Vintage, 1992) makes the case that land—as both private and public space, as business investment and mythos—is the city's ultimate medium of power. **William Cronon**'s ***Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*** (Norton, 1992) argues that great cities are created by their ability to abstract nature, in the form of grains, meats, and lumber, into a medium for commercial speculation over vast distances. Finally, in ***Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City***, originally published in 1945 but reissued by Chicago in 1993, **St. Clair Drake** and **Horace A. Cayton** document the mutually reinforcing pressures of class and race in turning 'old' African-American ghettos, where not everyone was poor, into crucibles of poverty. These are books that have so shaped my sensibilities that I cannot experience a city without being aware of them."

Thomas Bender, professor of history at New York University, author of *New York Intellect* (Knopf, 1987) and *Intellect and Public Life* (Johns Hopkins, 1993), and co-editor of *Budapest and New York* (Russell Sage, 1994).

"The past five years," notes Bender, "have seen a proliferation of interdisciplinary and postdisciplinary studies of cities and their cultures. But the book I would single out is a monograph rooted firmly in the discipline of history. In ***The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900*** (Cambridge, 1994), **Philip J. Ethington** demonstrates that emerging electoral strategies and marketing practices promoted new civic identities that undermined formalist Victorian notions of the universal citizen. The resulting urban history brilliantly illuminates the prehistory of the postmodern city."

Saskia Sassen, professor of urban planning at Columbia, author of *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, 1991) and *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization* (Columbia, 1996).

"From the dozens of great books that have come out of the new interdisciplinary passion for all things urban, I would single out ***Preparing for the Urban Future: Global Pressures and Local Forces*** (Johns Hopkins, 1996), edited by **Michael Cohen**, **Blair Ruble**, **Joseph Tulchin**, and **Allison Garland**. It's a collection of essays by scholars and policy makers from around the globe that offers some of the best insights available into the urban challenge. Notable for me was a chapter on cities in Africa and the possibility that, beneath the breakdown of governments, we may be seeing new, often informal modes of governance by way of an increasingly active and empowered participation in development among the disadvantaged."

Zeynep Çelik, professor of architecture at New Jersey Institute of Technology, co-editor of *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (California, 1994), and author of *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule* (California, forthcoming).

"In ***The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*** (Cambridge, 1996), architectural historian **Diane Favro** explores what made, and makes, a city memorable. Building on the ideas of the modern city planner Kevin Lynch, she analyzes the urban context, identity, structure, and meaning of Rome at the turn of the first millennium. At this potent historical moment, the first emperor Augustus transformed the cityscape to match new political imperatives—namely, the transition from republic to empire. Favro frames her analysis with descriptions of walks through ancient Rome. With these fictional tours, we come to understand how a distinct urban identity is forged by new buildings and materials, consistent iconography, and the calculated involvement of the citizenry."

Roy Porter, professor of the social history of medicine at the Wellcome Institute, London, and author or editor of more than sixty books, including *London: A Social History* (Penguin, 1996).

"Anyone who is tired of books about London is tired of life," quips Porter. "One I won't ever tire of is ***The London Encyclopedia***, edited by **Ben Weinreb** and **Christopher Hibbert** and brought out in an updated edition by Macmillan in 1993. Everything is there in its thousand pages, from histories of the Thames and London's Underground system to little entries on

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pubs and clubs past and present. If you've ever wanted to know where the "Portobello" comes from in the name of London's street market, or the history of street markets in general, this volume is indispensable. Also great fun is **Iain Sinclair**'s ***Lights Out for the Territory*** (Granta Books, 1997), a wonderful travelogue of the dark and dingy side of town written by a brilliant reporter who makes it his thing to pound the sidewalks. Follow Sinclair around the East End or up to Geoffrey (Lord) Archer's Thames-side penthouse, and you'll realize what a wonderful eye for detail he has."

Margaret Morton, professor of art at The Cooper Union, co-author of *Transitory Gardens, Uprooted Lives* (Yale, 1993), and photographer and author of *The Tunnel: Underground Homeless of New York City* (Yale, 1996).

"After the construction of the Berlin Wall, trains from the West were forbidden to stop when passing through the East. The dimly lit stations were deserted except for the shadowy forms of East German border guards with submachine guns. ***Geisterbahnhöfe*** ("Ghost Stations"), by **Heinz Knobloch** (Ch. Links Verlag, 1992; available from www.mail-order-kaiser.de), chronicles the fifteen subway and railway stations that were sealed off from East Germans when the Wall was constructed in 1961. The photographs, by Michael Richter, were taken during the brief transition period between November 9, 1989, when the Wall fell, and July 1, 1990, the day of the two countries' currency union, when the stations were reopened. The pictures capture dirty plates on tables as well as dusty posters advertising exhibitions and circuses from the summer of 1961. The publisher is an exciting new house based in Berlin, and *Geisterbahnhöfe* makes a splendid visual companion to their best-seller *Chronik der Wende,* a two-volume, day-by-day narrative of the East German experience of the 1990 unification."

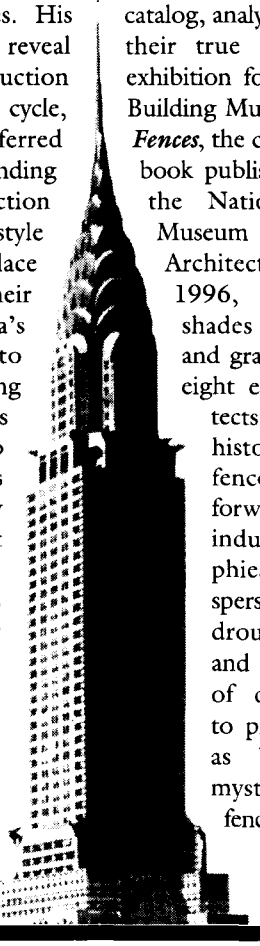
Robert Fitch, adjunct professor at New York University's metropolitan studies program and author of *The Assassination of New York* (Verso, 1996).

"In 1890, Jacob Riis invented the New York poverty photo shoot. *How the Other Half Lives* aimed a camera at the city's terrible conditions and convinced New York's elite to implement drastic reforms. Now a century later, and with the same visceral impact, comes **Camilo José Vergara**'s ***The New American Ghetto*** (Rutgers, 1995). Vergara doesn't just photograph crumbling structures. His time-lapse photos reveal how housing destruction follows a predictable cycle, beginning with deferred maintenance and ending with the construction of low-rise ranch-style houses that replace the poor and their tenements. Vergara's stunning photo sequences and probing investigative analysis make it impossible to ignore how planners have created a new urban form that segregates, concentrates, and isolates the poor as never before in American history."

Ben Katchor, creator of the comic strip "Julius Knipl, Real Estate Photographer," collected in the book *Julius Knipl Real Estate Photographer: Stories* (Little Brown, 1996).

"The fences I knew most intimately growing up in Brooklyn were of the chain-link and picket-and-wire variety. Chain-link seemed to be designed to accommodate the foot of a climbing child and to catch a Spalding rubber ball. The orange-dyed picket-and-wire fences were erected in public parks to mark off plots of earth for some undisclosed reason. Now **Gregory Dreicer** has decided to catalog, analyze, and explain their true history in an exhibition for the National Building Museum. ***Between Fences***, the commemorative book published jointly by the National Building Museum and Princeton Architectural Press in 1996, is printed in shades of orange and gray, and contains eight essays by architects, theorists, and historians of the fence. Straightforward and tragic industrial biographies are interspersed with wondrous illustrations and brilliant points of design history to produce a book as beautiful and mysterious as the fences it describes."

RICK PERLSTEIN



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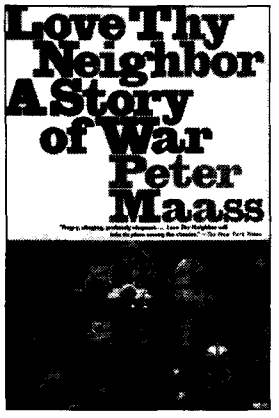

Love Thy Neighbor: A Story of War
by Peter Maass
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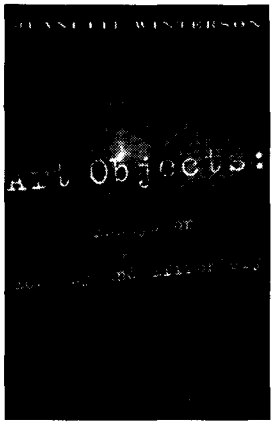
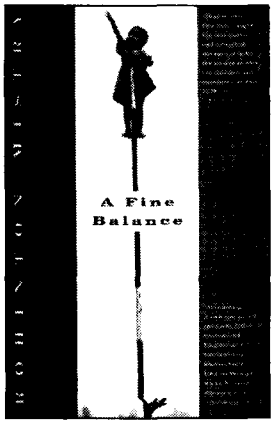
"[A] strikingly personal and passionate account of the [Bosnian] war by a reporter who got closer to the action and the suffering than any diplomat, policy maker or academic.... The result is a gripping journey through a hellish war, with pit stops to meet some of the victims and their executioners. It is a hair-raising, stomach-churning and, ultimately, consciousness-raising ride, and one that will force readers to examine their own values and those of the Western powers who appeased aggressors while a quarter of a million people died horrible deaths."—*The Boston Globe*



Art Objects: Essays on Ecstasy and Effrontery
by Jeanette Winterson
$11.00; 208pp.

In these ten intertwined essays of art criticism, the author of *Written on the Body* and *Art & Lies* reminds us that the term "art objects" denotes not only things but acts. According to Winterson, art objects to the lie that life is small, fragmented, and mean. Instead, she writes, it proclaims the opposite. "Like Scheharazade, Ms. Winterson possesses an ability to dazzle the reader by creating wondrous worlds in which the usual laws of plausibility are suspended. She possesses the ability to combine the biting satire of Swift with the ethereal magic of García Márquez, the ability to re-invent old myths as she creates new ones of her own."—*The New York Times*



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Inside

WHERE DID LANGUAGE COME FROM? Until recently it's a question that's left most experts speechless. Even linguist Noam Chomsky, for all his elaborations on the hardwired nature of language, has long refused to speculate on precisely how we developed this gift for gab—leading some evolutionists to brand him a mystic. Other heavyweights, like biologist Stephen Jay Gould, only go so far as to suggest that speech arose accidentally, a mere upshot of our big brains. This restraint can be frustrating, but it has an obvious explanation: Airy-fairy speculations on the origins of language have been trotted out for hundreds of years, pinpointing everything from parrots to menstrual rituals as the precursor to chatter. Indeed, scholarly pique with such tomfoolery is long-standing: In 1866 the Linguistic Society of Paris forbade all papers on the topic.

But things changed in 1990, when MIT's Steven Pinker published a seminal paper arguing that natural selection could account just fine for language—much as it could for other one-time-only evolutionary tricks like an elephant's trunk. While many readers found his logic convincing, they noted that Pinker remained a bit vague on exactly which "selection pressures" (as they're known in the Darwin business) made language a necessary adaption. So the question of *why* we evolved speech remains an open—if newly respectable—question.

Perhaps the most striking figure to dive into the post-Pinker fray is Robin Dunbar, a University of Liverpool anthropologist and authority on gelada baboons. His theory, laid out in a new book from Harvard University Press, is a doozy: Language, Dunbar suggests, evolved among hominids as a "cheap and ultra-efficient form of grooming"—that mildly distasteful practice of leafing through a companion's fur for loose skin and tangled burrs. Furthermore, he says, "language evolved in order to allow us to gossip." Say what?

Here's the argument: Grooming, explains Dunbar in *Grooming, Gossip, and the Evolution of Language*, is the basic way that primates maintain social cohesion. In fact, many chimps spend up to one-fifth of their waking hours picking away at each other—far more time than is needed for hygiene's sake. This overkill is, of course, precisely the point; these extended massage sessions are a sign of loyalty, a key to forming alliances within often volatile social groups.

But what does all this touchy-feely stuff have to do with language? As primates descended from jungle treetops to the savanna, they amassed in larger groups for protection. (Baboons, for example, form extended families of around fifty.) Dunbar theorizes that the challenge of keeping track of the primate pecking order—who was grooming whom, and so on—led to a massive increase in brain size, a necessary precursor for language. At the same time, as small groups grew into mobs, internal conflicts and petty squabbles erupted, requiring ever more elaborate grooming rituals to keep the peace. This raised a conundrum: How, Dunbar wondered, could a hominid spend *more* than one-fifth of his day grooming and still have time for necessities like hunting and mating? As Dunbar sees it, language erupted onto the scene to solve this problem, allowing "a kind of vocal grooming" to replace the hands-on approach. After all, you can stroke

CORBIS-BETTMANN

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only one friend at a time, but you can verbally massage a crowd.

Dunbar's argument actually rests on some vanguard theories regarding hominid evolution. Traditionally, anthropologists have suggested that ecological exigencies—the need to coordinate hunting efforts or determine if fruits were poisonous—provided the selection pressure for hominid brain expansion. But in 1988 British psychologists Richard Byrne and Andrew Whiten laid out the "Machiavellian intelligence hypothesis" as a different way to explain the upswing in intelligence: The theory says that primates' immersion in the social whirl caused them to develop a singular ability to *predict* how others would react, encouraging chimps to manipulate and flatter their friends—tricks requiring heavy brainpower.

Princeton primatologist Alison Jolly thinks that the data in Dunbar's book linking primate brain size with group size lend concrete support to this theory. "His central insight, that language evolved primarily for social ends, is dead on," she says. "Linguists don't see this, but those of us out in the field know that what's singular about primates is their social savvy."

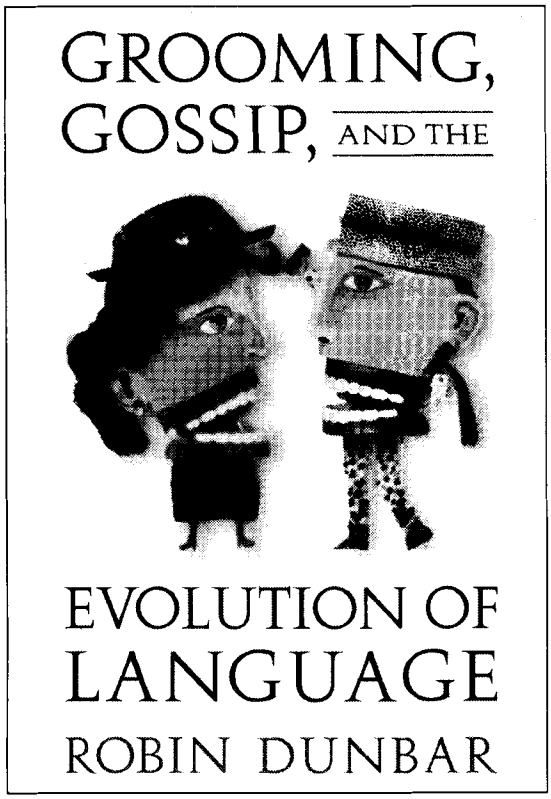
So what are the implications of Dunbar's theory, other than to imbue expressions like "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" with sociobiological sex-appeal? As Dunbar sees it, his proposal suggests that language evolved not as deep thoughts but as gossip: Schmoozing came first, musing second. In many ways, this position isn't new. The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowksi always maintained that language primarily "oil[ed] social wheels" and disparaged the "false conception of language as a means of transfusing ideas from the head of the speaker to that of the listener." In this vein, Dunbar likes to think that his theory will help dismantle "the standard linguistics view that language evolved exclusively for solving problems and exchanging information."

As one might expect, Dunbar's difficult-to-falsify speculations have proved a bit much for linguists—even the evolution-minded Pinker. "It sounds like a classic just-so story, doesn't it?" he says. "Saying that language evolved so we can gossip is like saying that eyes, with all their complex visual circuitry, evolved so we can flirt. I'm sorry, but the grammatical machinery must be there for a reason—in my view, for making complex propositions like *the wildebeest is on the other side of the lake*." And University of Hawaii linguist Derek Bickerton, who advances the controversial idea that the circuitry for language was established in a single "catastrophic" mutation, dismissed the theory in *Nature*, saying Dunbar had committed the Fallacy of Most Frequent Use: "By this reasoning, computers were invented to play video games or surf the Net."

"Linguists don't understand how I can write a book on this subject without a lengthy discussion of grammar," shrugs Dunbar. "But that's not the point. I'm not studying *how* language is structured as much as I'm investigating what selection pressures led to its development. I see my story as quite complementary to Pinker's."

Whether he's right or wrong, Dunbar's theory has certainly got linguists chatting. Four years after his argument was first propounded in *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, a leading cognitive-science journal, it continues to spark new commentaries and rebuttals. (The most recent set of responses appeared this past September.) The publication of Dunbar's book will likely only provoke more nit-picking from his peers—but then again, he rather seems to enjoy it. In fact, his book contains a rapturous description of what it feels like to be groomed by a chimp. "To be groomed by a monkey," he writes, "is to experience primordial emotions: the initial frisson of uncertainty...the gradual surrender to another's avid fingers flickering expertly across bare skin, the...nibbling of flesh as hands of discovery move in surprise from one freckle to another newly discovered mole." Ugh. Perhaps this is one mystery that was better left unexplored.

DANIEL ZALEWSKI



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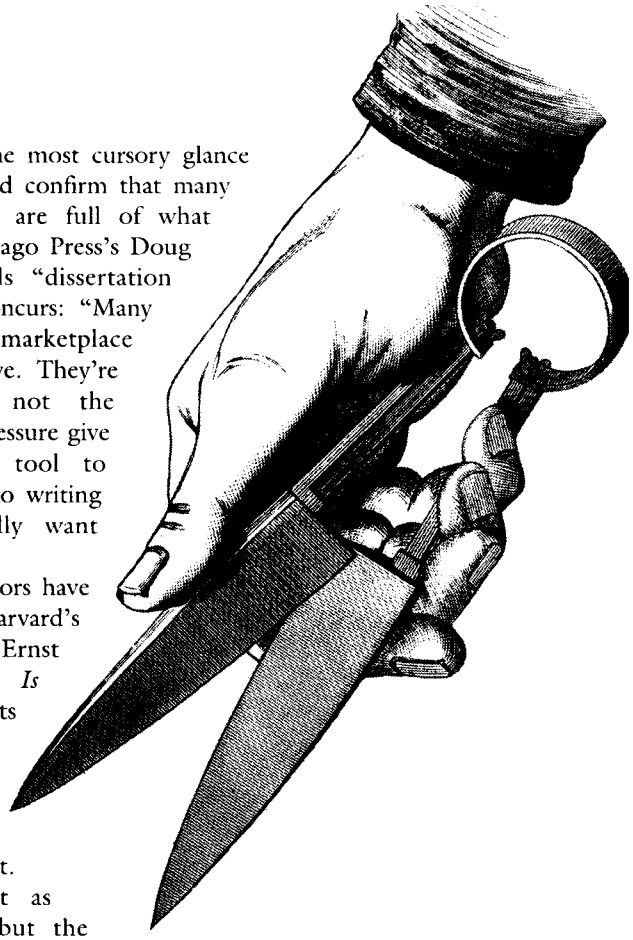

TANYA LUHRMANN'S FINAL DRAFT HAD been languishing at Harvard University Press for ten months when she got the call. You need to cut the manuscript by fifty pages, explained her editor. Any fifty—it was up to her where to swipe the machete. She had two weeks to make the cuts.

"What was frustrating," says Luhrmann, author of *The Good Parsi,* "was that the decision was not made for editorial reasons—it was clearly about length. And this was not my editor's decision. It came from above."

Has Harvard University Press, once the refuge of books weighty in all ways, gone on a diet? Certainly the erosion of subsidies for academic publishing in recent years has pushed university presses toward belt-tightening across the board. "There's no state money, no city money, no regional money, no book allowance for professors," laments Aida Donald, editorial director at Harvard. "No help from the various groups that in the best of times were helpful or could be helpful now. And we've lost our great partner, the libraries." Adding to the pressure, paper prices have spiked upward dramatically.

This financial crunch, once more apparent at the mid-level of university publishing, has forced even prestigious houses like Harvard to learn some of the tricks of the trade presses. One such skill: cracking the whip on word counts. In fact, top presses often "refuse to consider manuscripts over four hundred pages," according to Sanford Thatcher, director of the Penn State Press.

Luhrmann isn't the only Harvard author who's been told that size matters. A political theorist, for example, received glowing reader's reports for his six-hundred-page manuscript. But a few days later, his editor called him and said the press couldn't take the book—it was simply too long. That night, the editor called back to apologize. "He sounded broken, dispirited. He told me, 'I was overruled,'" says the frustrated author. A second editor called later, insisting Harvard still wanted the book. Of course, he added, you'll have to cut 100 to 150 pages. Have you read the manuscript?, asked the author. The answer was no. After much wrangling, Harvard ultimately passed on the book altogether.

Of course, even the most cursory glance at the bookshelf would confirm that many works of scholarship are full of what the University of Chicago Press's Doug Mitchell ruefully calls "dissertation baby fat." Donald concurs: "Many books out on the marketplace are long and repetitive. They're doorstops." Might not the increased economic pressure give publishers a useful tool to pressure academics into writing books people actually want to read?

Indeed, some authors have been delighted by Harvard's slimming sensibility. Ernst Mayr, whose *This Is Biology* was cut to half its original size, lauds the press's efforts to price his work reasonably enough for students to buy it. "Some things aren't as carefully explained, but the final product is accessible," says Mayr. "I do want my work to be read."

A new breed of built-for-speed, low-priced university press books may indeed find new readers, especially in fields with crossover appeal to nonacademics, like feminism. But what of the chunky monograph, the dense treatise, the comprehensive sociological analysis chock-full of graphs and charts—the sort of scholarly products most trade publishers greet with the excitement afforded first novels not penned by Ethan Hawke? Will such uncommercial research, once the raison d'être of the university press, be forced to seek asylum in the cold reaches of cyberspace?

Anne Saadah, a political scientist at Dartmouth who has confronted what she calls the "120,000-word limit" at several presses, worries that hard-to-market books will drop off the shelf. "Take Barrington Moore Jr.'s *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*—it's over five hundred pages, very dense and difficult and long, but a classic in my field," she points out. "I could name a whole string of books like that. Now they'd have to be cut to keep the price down!"

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Harvard's Donald insists that the press remains fixed on scholarly value as its first priority. "We have made a strategic decision to stay editorially driven," says Donald, who adds that Harvard has cut staff and kept its list small in order to accommodate weighty titles like Charles Rosen's *The Romantic Generation*. Each book, she says, has its "natural length," which an experienced editor can sense "even with a few chapters and a prospectus."

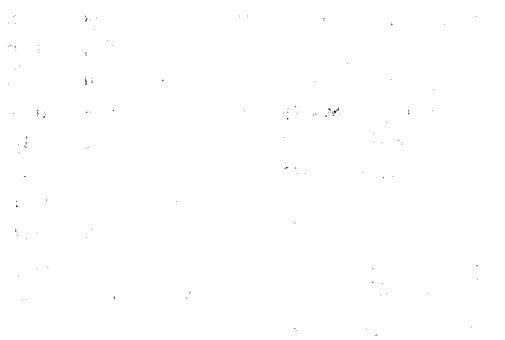
Authors, though, may find the process less than natural. Take Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. Goldhagen's expanded dissertation was at first accepted by Harvard, then dropped when Goldhagen refused to cut 80,000 words. He eventually published the billowy book, uncut, at Knopf, where it went on to sell more than 100,000 copies—a commercial vindication, if not necessarily an aesthetic one.

Donald argues that Harvard "always saw the book as a monograph" and simply wanted to craft it as such. Such disputes, she contends, typically occur when authors don't meet their contractual obligations. Speaking of Goldhagen's manuscript, she says: "We ordered a Chippendale chair. It came in with five legs."

Expansive authors and scissors-wielding editors do agree on one thing: Tenure decisions are far too dependent on the judgments made at university press editorial meetings. (Aida Donald calls this "a power we should not have.") In the quest for a scintillating CV, less established scholars may find themselves cutting their research to the quick to ensure publication—leaving tenure committees, ironically, with more "accessible" but less substantial work on which to base their decisions.

Daniel Burston, author of Harvard's *The Wing of Madness: The Life and Work of R.D. Laing*, has felt just this pressure. (He has found a Solomonic solution, though: an upcoming sequel to accommodate the entirety of his scholarly offspring.) The harm done to "mature scholarship," worries Burston, may outweigh the pragmatic benefits of such compromises for young scholars. "You can't blame university presses for wanting to survive, but you can't blame the scholars for kvetching," he muses. "This is their passion, their livelihood, their life, the core of their identity. And maybe some books are *meant* to be long!"

EMILY NUSSBAUM



THE STORY HAS ALL THE DRAMA AND pathos of a Disney film: In a snowy mountain village, a child is born. Destitute, his mother abandons him to relatives who put him to work as a goatherd. Before he turns ten, Thomas Platter is on his own, a barefoot and penniless illiterate. Somehow he survives, overcoming hunger, beatings, vermin, and the plague. All the while, he dreams of becoming a humanist scholar. Improbably, he succeeds. The lice-infested beggar boy ends his days in the city of Basel as a learned Calvin scholar and savvy real-estate entrepreneur, with two sons at the best medical school in Europe.

Despite its fairy-tale overtones, *The Beggar and the Professor* is sober, scholarly fare. Due out this month from the University of Chicago Press, the book by the French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie is a true-life rags-to-riches saga from the Reformation, a time when, according to the conventional wisdom, upward social mobility for Europe's peasants lay centuries in the future.

That the tale of Thomas Platter's rapid rise is brought to us by an *Annales*-school historian of the *longue durée*—who has tended to view history as a series of virtually static epochs—makes it all the more intriguing. But though he marvels at Platter's giant leap up the social ladder, Le Roy Ladurie hasn't abandoned his long view of civilization's course. "Of course, most peasants remained peasants," he says emphatically. "But you also see a number of humanists from peasant backgrounds at this time. Thomas Platter wasn't the only one."

Platter's own memoir, which he dictated in 1572, at the age of seventy-three, is one of only a handful of peasant memoirs from the early-modern period. Within the Swiss scholar's own family, however, the autobiographical impulse flourished: His sons, Felix and Thomas Jr., who became fashionable physicians, kept extensive travel journals and diaries. Relying heavily on the family writings, Le Roy Ladurie

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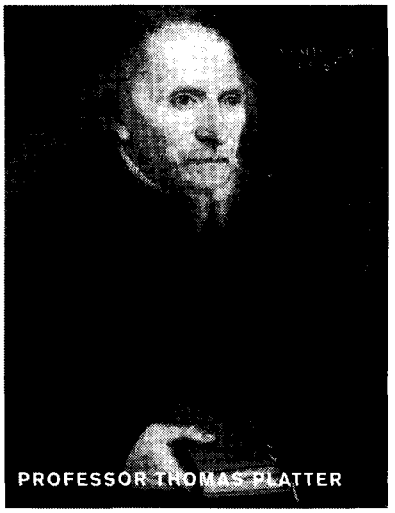
has reconstructed the Platters' remarkable ascent much as they, it appears, conceived of it themselves. "It's a true story that could be a novel," says the historian. "It may contain a little bit of imagination, but I didn't stray from the texts."

A little bit of imagination? From Le Roy Ladurie this constitutes an extraordinary statement. One of the few figures of the *Annales*' influential postwar period still writing—Georges Duby died last year, Jacques Le Goff is ill—Le Roy Ladurie has exemplified the French movement at its most rigorously impersonal and scientific. Inspired by Marxism and social science, *Annales* scholars, who came to prominence in the wake of Vichy, placed their methodological faith in slow cycles of economic growth and recession, rather than in personal narratives or ephemeral events. Individual human beings, their work implied, are unreliable chroniclers of their own history. Multiple sources are therefore better than one, and nonhuman sources are possibly the most trustworthy of all.

During the Sixties, Le Roy Ladurie seemed prepared to dispense with humans altogether. In *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate Since the Year 1000* (1967), he relied on data culled from tree rings and peat bogs in addition to archival records of harvest dates. And even as Le Roy Ladurie—along with many of his colleagues—began to examine culture and behavior in the Seventies, he continued to favor statistical analysis. For his 1975 best-seller, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error,* a study of life in a medieval Pyrenean village, he quantified reams of archival data on everything from almsgiving to bastard births. He cheered the dawning of the computer age, prophesying famously, "Historians will either be programmers or they will no longer exist."

For all the narrative emphasis of his recent work, Le Roy Ladurie's signature passions are still very much in evidence. He is currently in the process of completing a book of essays on quantitative history, and *The Beggar and the Professor* is littered with unlikely measurements. Felix Platter's 1557 journey across France on his way home from medical school, for example, is the occasion for a brief excursion into comparative statistics. "Speed of travel depended on whether one was a sailor, rider, or spirochete," writes Le Roy Ladurie, noting that while it took Felix only five days to go from Toulouse to Bordeaux on horseback, it took syphilis twenty years to reach Bordeaux from Naples. Elsewhere, it is the gradual domestication of the landscape that interests him. On his way to Montpellier, Felix Platter spies his first olive trees on the banks of the Rhône. Three centuries later, Le Roy Ladurie interjects enthusiastically, Napoleon's general Flahaut encountered olive groves ten kilometers further north. Thus the olive belt, he deduces, migrated northward at a rate of one kilometer a decade.


PROFESSOR THOMAS PLATTER

On the whole, however, these authorial intrusions are rare; Le Roy Ladurie prefers to remain a scribe, content to let his readers puzzle over the intimate history of the Swiss Calvin scholar, who comes across as a resourceful, stubborn man. But how reliable is Thomas Platter's memoir? Mightn't he withhold, distort, or invent entire incidents to impress his sons? Did he, for example, really spend six weeks locked in a brothel reading Euripides while living in Zurich as a young man? Did he really teach himself Greek, Latin, and Hebrew simultaneously in nocturnal cram sessions, munching raw turnips and sand in order to stay awake? Did he in fact serve as an underground agent in Zurich, carrying letters from Zwingli to fellow Protestant leaders in Baden?

To Le Roy Ladurie, such questions are beside the point. "Thomas Platter was indeed a miserable peasant who became a humanist," he responds firmly. "That is absolutely certain." But the book's combination of fact and anecdote, intimate portraiture and historical allegory, can seem difficult to reconcile with the rest of the historian's oeuvre.

Perhaps Le Roy Ladurie's own life offers us a clue as to why. "The story of Platter," speculates the book's translator, Arthur Goldhammer, "is in some ways the story of Le Roy Ladurie's own

DR. FELIX PLATTER

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generation of historians, who came to prominence after the war. The historians affiliated with Vichy were discredited, making way for the communists, much in the way Protestants took over the University of Basel." Le Roy Ladurie seems intrigued by this interpretation but won't endorse it. He prefers to cast his relationship with the Platters in less weighty terms, volunteering a strong identification with Platter's fashionable doctor son, Felix, who studied at the same French university where Le Roy Ladurie began his teaching career four centuries later. "I, too," Le Roy Ladurie sighs, "once lived the life of a dandy and young scholar at Montpellier."

EMILY EAKIN

WORD PAINTER

WHEN IN 1916 WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS published the first section of *Reveries,* an autobiographical account of his youth, his fellow occultist George Russell said it contained "the most vacant things man ever wrote." "The boy in the book," complained Russell, "might have become a grocer as well as a poet." Yet others were dazzled by the man who exasperated Russell. When Yeats died in 1939, James Joyce remembered him as a writer who had possessed "pure imagination," something Joyce thought no surrealist poet could equal, let alone surpass.

WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

ARCHIVE PHOTOS

Given that stature, it's odd Yeats has not garnered the bibliographic and biographical attention accorded other major writers of his generation. True, scholars and poets have produced a steady stream of critical writings about Yeats, yet this has not been matched by an outpouring of collected works and biographies. Though anthologies of Yeats's essays are available, there is no *Collected Prose.* His poems were not accurately assembled until 1983, and the *Collected Letters,* which will run to twelve volumes, only began appearing in 1986.

But come April, with the publication of volume one of R.F. Foster's *W.B. Yeats: A Life* (Oxford), Yeats will be getting the definitive full-length biography he deserves. Not since Richard Ellmann, with the cooperation of Yeats's widow, George, published *Yeats: The Man and the Masks,* in 1948, has such a major biography of Yeats been produced. Foster, a professor of Irish history at Oxford University, undertook *W.B. Yeats* after being approached by Yeats's current literary executors, his children, Anne and Michael, now in their seventies. (One doubts Yeats foresaw Anne being his executor when in "A Prayer for My Daughter" he declared, "In courtesy I'd have her chiefly learned.") The Yeatses were seeking someone to succeed Leyland Lyons of Trinity College Dublin, who had been doing research for an authorized Yeats biography when he died suddenly in 1983. Foster commenced work on volume 1 in 1988. As for volume two, he

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anticipates it coalescing, in Yeatsian fashion, shortly after the approaching millennium.

Ellmann sorted the tangled loyalties of Yeats's life into three themes—occultism, drama, and love—an approach that has long been an invaluable model for Yeats scholars. Foster's approach is different: "I see the events of Yeats's life happening sequentially and, as it were, ricocheting off one another." Ellmann lent Yeats's antinomies some harmony; Foster accents their cacophony. Drawing on all manner of collected and uncollected material, Foster has written what he terms a "thick" history of the poet's doings up to the completion of *Reveries* in 1914. The Yeats who animates it is not the figure with whom most readers are familiar, the misty-eyed poet who, after overcoming a youthful addiction to reverie, wrote unflinchingly about his desire to wrest a symbolic order from the emotional and political turmoil of his life. With a shrewd sense of irony, Foster vividly evokes the frustrations of Yeats's apprentice years: the struggling writer channeling his literary obsessions into book reviewing to help his father—a talented but hapless painter—ward off poverty; the upstart aesthete dining with Oscar Wilde, whose sartorial splendor made him realize his own shoes were several shades too yellow. As for the misty gaze, Foster reveals that it stemmed as much from a conical cornea, diagnosed in 1894, which made Yeats's left eye practically useless, as from occult preoccupations.

In discussing Yeats's involvement with the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, Foster explodes something of a sacred cow: the poet's fond vision of his theater work's political implications. Theater was central to Yeats's version of Irish nationalism; he thought it provided an opportunity for directing into cultural channels the political energies left festering when support in Parliament for a Home Rule bill collapsed in 1890. Indeed, in his 1923 Nobel Prize acceptance speech, he recalled how the Irish cultural revival, and by extension the Abbey, led inexorably to the 1916 rebellion. Many Yeats scholars, Ellmann included, have seconded Yeats's backward glance. But in Foster's telling, it was primarily local political agitation—such as the Ulster crisis of 1913—that fueled the rebellion, not the Abbey's production of Irish plays. Foster strikes a delicate balance: establishing Yeats's

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investment in the Irish revival while explaining how he overrated the revival as an engine of political change.

Yeats specialists may not be the only ones challenged by this conclusion to revamp their understanding of the Irish revival. Take literary historians who consider Yeats a postcolonial writer. In *Inventing Ireland* (Harvard, 1996), Declan Kiberd claimed that Ireland's rebellion anticipated nationalist movements in Third World nations, primarily because of how Ireland's cultural revival preceded and fed political resistance against a colonial power. Yeats plays a central role in this drama. Besides endorsing Yeats's notion of cultural ferment as politics by other means, Kiberd views Yeats as the standard-bearer of "republican and democratic ideals."

Though Foster hardly denies that cultural and political revolt were affiliated in Ireland during Yeats's time, his account of Yeats's Abbey tenure is a sobering reminder of just how messy that relation between the two can be. And while Yeats did often rail against the impact of English rule on Irish culture, it's nonetheless hard to square Kiberd's citizen Yeats with the poet who grew more aristocratic with age. Reading *W.B. Yeats: A Life*, it's virtually impossible not to notice Yeats's contempt for the middle class, indistinguishable in his mind from a vicious mob, growing ever more venomous.

Foster approaches Yeats from the point of view of a historian, not a literary biographer. And in doing so, he places more emphasis on Yeats's place in Irish history than on his place in the history of literature. What of those who might protest that Foster has buried Yeats under a mountain of irrelevant detail? After all, with a similar archive at his disposal, Ellmann traced the patterns of Yeats's life and writing in one slim volume. Foster realizes he is "not imposing a shapely cause and effect" on the life, which may be disconcerting to some, but thinks "the effect is worth it." Indeed, by conveying how Yeats's life was crowded with quarrels, contradictions, and prejudices, *W.B. Yeats: A Life* is intended as both a challenge to Yeatsians and a compliment to Yeats, who in "Per Amica Silentia Lunae" wrote: "We make out of the quarrel with others, rhetoric, but of the quarrel with ourselves, poetry."

JOHN PALATTELLA

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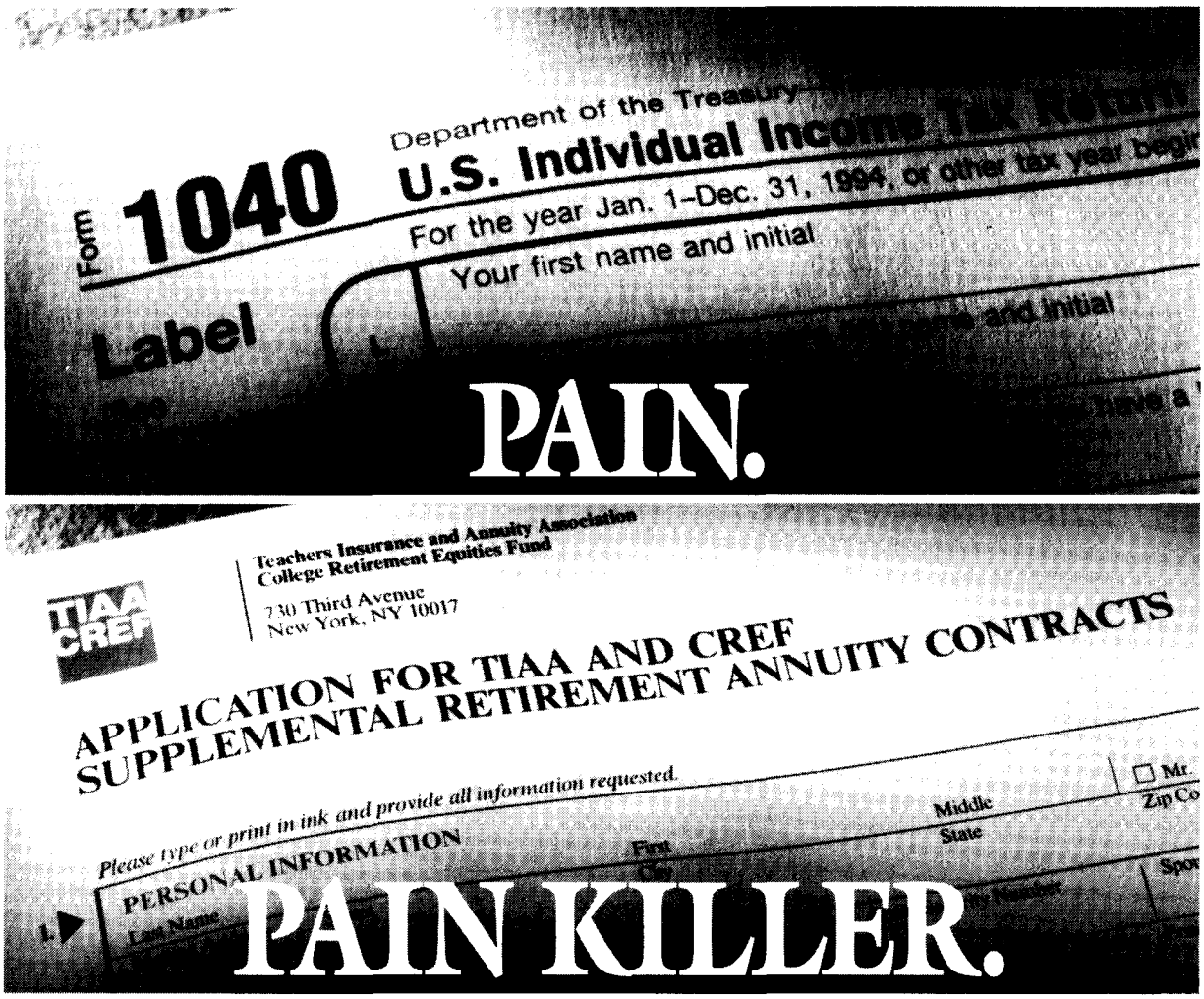

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POLICING THE

BY **ARTHUR ALLEN**

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GENE MACHINE

CAN ANYONE CONTROL THE HUMAN GENOME PROJECT?

NOW THAT THE NEVADA NUCLEAR-TEST ranges have fallen silent, no other scientific endeavor can match the terrifying allure of the Human Genome Project, the $3 billion, fifteen-year effort to identify and map the 100,000 genes and three billion chemical bits that make up human DNA. The international project was launched in 1988, orchestrated with moon-launch-sized fanfare: The genome would give science the Holy Grail, a blueprint of humanity. Nature was poised to stamp nurture into the dust once and for all. "We used to think our fate was in the stars," trumpeted Nobel laureate James Watson, co-decoder of DNA's double helix. "Now we know, in large measure, our fate is in our genes." For the faint of heart, however, the creation of vast computer banks of human concordance stirred not dreams but nightmares—of designer genes and eugenic ghettoes. "If we are not careful," biotechnology critic Jeremy Rifkin said at the time, "we will find ourselves in a world where the disabled, minorities, and workers will be genetically engineered."

Nine years later, scientists are ahead of schedule in compiling what has been called the world's longest, most boring book. Each week scientists document new patterns in the As, Cs, Gs, and Ts (adenine, cytosine, guanine, and thymine—the four building blocks of DNA). They uncover new genes linked to prostate cancer, palsied hands—even neuroticism. The breathless pace of it all seems both wonderful and worrisome. And yet, for anyone who cares to look closely, both the gee-whiz and doomsday metaphors that ushered in the genome project are starting to look seriously out-of-date. For it turns out that we probably won't be able to clone the perfect baby or use genetic screening to eradicate cancer, even if we wanted to. The more we learn about genes, in fact, the more uncertain and ambiguous the whole business gets.

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None of which means that genetics has ceased to generate ethical dilemmas—it's just that those dilemmas have turned out to be more immediate and practical than anticipated. For example, several biotech companies now offer tests for recently discovered "disease" genes, though nobody knows yet if such tests can accurately predict if you'll get sick or not. Making matters worse, effective gene therapy is, in most cases, decades away. Fortunately, a structure has been scaffolded onto the genome project to address these types of conflicts head-on. Christened the ELSI Program (for Ethical, Legal, and Social Implications), the ambitious enterprise brings together an unlikely coalition of philosophers, social scientists, and medical professionals. With the genome project—unlike, say, the Manhattan Project or the supercollider—social scientists have been invited inside the temple, not merely as observers but as activists, sworn to assure that what emerges from the laboratory will, at the very least, do no harm.

ODDLY enough, credit for the program's creation goes to none other than James Watson, the grand vizier of the gene. At the October 1988 news conference where he took over as the first leader of the Human Genome Project, Watson announced abruptly—in response to a reporter's heated questioning—that at least 3 percent of the project's budget would go to studying and seeking remedies for the ethical questions that could arise from the new genetics. Was it a P.R. ploy? Perhaps, but it nonetheless was the first time a major scientific enterprise had officially acknowledged the social ramifications of the knowledge it produced.

In a single breath, Watson created the biggest bioethics project of all time. ELSI has spent about eight million dollars a year since 1991, funding college courses, seminars, and more than 150 articles and books, as well as impaneling task forces to wrestle with the prevention of genetic-data abuse. Hundreds of academics have milked the ELSI cash cow, which one wit has described as "Keynesian bioethics." Grants have funded worthy anthologies like *Prescribing Our Future, The Code of Codes,* and *The Genetic Frontier: Ethics, Law, and Policy.* WGBH in Boston produced "The Secret of Life," an eight-part PBS series on molecular biology. It's all quite impressive.

And yet, despite this earnest engagement, ELSI's impact on public policy has so far fallen short of its advocates' expectations. Operating under the joint supervision of two agencies—the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the Department of Energy, which got involved in DNA sequencing in order to find useful post–Cold War chores for its bomb labs at Los Alamos and Livermore—ELSI consists of a twelve-member Working Group; an extramural research program for social scientists; and an in-house advisory group designed to address ethical issues arising in genetics labs on the NIH campus. ELSI's promise of actually putting "science studies" into action has lured prominent (and often skeptical) voices from that field—including sociologists like UC-Berkeley's Troy Duster, author of *Backdoor to Eugenics,* and NYU's Dorothy Nelkin, co-author of *The DNA Mystique: The Gene as Cultural Icon.* Here's the rub, though: ELSI can offer advice, but the scientists aren't required to listen. The Working Group answers to a higher authority, an advisory council led by progress-minded geneticists and administrators. It's this council that has the ultimate power to approve ELSI grants, not to mention the clout to affect whether the Working Group's policy recommendations become reality. So even when ELSI members commit to a fight—to attacking *The Bell Curve* or the commercialization of genetic testing, for instance—it can seem like a cry in the dark. In this way, say some critics, ELSI has become just what Watson may have been hoping for: a watchdog that's all bark and no bite.

AT TIMES, ELSI seems like the Charlie Chaplin character in *Modern Times,* running itself ragged to keep up with a machine that it can barely control. On a wintry December morning, the ELSI Working Group's Genetic-Testing Task Force has convened at a Baltimore hotel to discuss an urgent concern: the unleashing of genetic-screening kits into the market-

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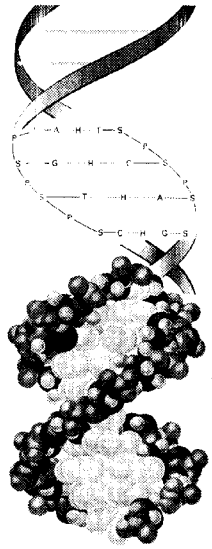

place. As the primary government body looking into this question, ELSI's insights should matter. But how can a mere task force—a subcommittee of a subcommittee—keep from losing its place along the bureaucratic paper trail? Then there's the question of timing: Gene-screening kits pinpointing everything from cystic fibrosis to breast cancer are already being marketed to doctors.

Despite these challenges, the twenty-three-member group is moving ahead with an effort to establish standards for genetic testing. Representatives of academia, medical associations, and the biotech industry are part of this discussion, a dicey one because it is set in the context of a national debate over breast cancer gene screening—a debate spurred, in no small measure, by the investigations of ELSI panels. The first gene linked to breast cancer, called BRCA1, was discovered in 1994. A second, BRCA2, was found in 1995. Since then, researchers have identified hundreds of different mutations in both genes. In other words, there is no single "bad gene," but a panoply of genetic variants, with little of predictive value understood about each one. Moreover, an ELSI-commissioned panel of experts reported to the genome center last May that neither mammography nor chemotherapy nor radical mastectomy was clearly effective in response to a positive BRCA test. The great race to unpack the breast cancer gene had led to a virtual crapshoot. (A few scientists like Theodore Friedmann of UC-San Diego had actually foreseen this impasse back in the Eighties and had charged that genome scientists were unwise to concentrate resources on isolating genes before their function was understood. Such arguments were ignored.)

This afternoon, the Genetic-Testing Task Force is considering whether some genetic tests, like those for breast cancer, are simply too complicated for family physicians to administer. Should a special board certify doctors to offer gene tests? Or should testing be performed only by specialists? The physicians in the crowd, in line with a representative from OncorMed, a Maryland biotech company, all oppose licensing. But Nancy Press, a UCLA anthropologist invited to join the panel because of the ethnographic studies she's done among cancer patients, holds out for making the most difficult testing procedures solely the terrain of specialists. "The physicians I've talked to are uniformly unaware of the statements made by professional societies on how to use BRCA," she says. "It's very worrisome. That's not meant in an accusatory way. They don't have bad hearts or anything. But there's a big gap in knowledge about BRCA, and in the meantime you have these mass mailings by laboratory companies urging doctors to give the tests."

A physician suggests a middle way: Why not simply provide genetic-testing protocols to doctors through the Internet? "You're going to meet a fire wall of opposition if you try to tell a doctor he can't do a simple test," he says.

Finally, a panelist representing managed care tosses in a splash of cold commercial reality that puts it all in perspective. "I don't think you'd want to try to license who gives these tests," he says, "when the fact is they'll probably be selling home kits soon." (This panelist may be right—the FDA has signaled its disinclination to get involved in regulating gene tests.)

In the end, panel chair Dr. Neil Holtzman, a Johns Hopkins epidemiologist, tables the discussion and asks his staff to prepare recommendations for a vote at the next meeting. The hope is that, ultimately, ELSI's protocols will be followed by professional societies that advise physicians. But it's only a hope. Indeed, while the Genetic-Testing Task Force reveals the scope of ELSI's ambitions, it also highlights the program's limits. Nobody here would challenge the value of searching for breast cancer genes in the first place, even though the dilemma under discussion arose from that effort. In a sense, the task force performs what sociologist Philip Pauly terms "corporate quality control" for molecular genetics: Its mode is reactive—evaluating gene-screening kits rather than, say, judging scientists' grant applications. "They made the decision at the beginning that they weren't going to study the science and the scientists," says Berkeley anthropology professor Paul Rabinow, who examined the biotech industry in his 1994 book *Making PCR*. Yet the science, he says, "is what generates the ethical issues."

As a result, some observers argue that ELSI's policy proposals are all but irrelevant. "You're in a poor position to do ethical review if you only do it once products are on the market," says Glenn McGee, a bioethicist at the University of Pennsylvania. But Eric Meslin, current director of ELSI's research program, defends this ad hoc approach. As he sees it, the task force's job is "not to be ethics police, but to create an environment where people have the best chance of thinking about ethical issues when they arise."

IN THE EARLY days of ELSI, when the Human Genome Project had yielded few concrete insights, the program's activities were dominated by conferences on philosophical matters with titles like "Ethics, Values, Professional Responsibilities" and "The Human Genome Project: A Choices and Challenges Forum." Over time, ELSI's members have moved away from abstract speculation in favor

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of nuts-and-bolts task forces. Eric Juengst, a bioethicist at Case Western Reserve and former head of the ELSI research grant program, approves. "Is it appropriate," he asks, "to be waving our arms about things that science may never bear out?" Not all ELSI activists are happy about this turn, of course. But even more radical panelists, like Dorothy Nelkin, acknowledge that pragmatic responses to genetic threats can't be shunned on principle. "You can't just sit there and wail about capitalism," says Nelkin. "You try to do something."

And in this practical capacity, ELSI's efforts are considerable. ELSI panelists pushed the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue a statement extending the antidiscriminatory Americans with Disabilities Act to people with genetic susceptibilities to particular illnesses. They backed Hillary Clinton's push for universal health care, arguing that the genetic revolution would be all for naught if tests were used by health insurance companies to charge huge premiums to people with suspect genes. They have been a resource to reporters writing about genetics. ELSI-funded research consortia are providing statistical bases for clinicians trying to figure out how to use gene tests for cystic fibrosis and for cancers. Perhaps most importantly, ELSI scholars like Boston University ethicist George Annas have been invited to help write genetic privacy bills, which have become law in several states.

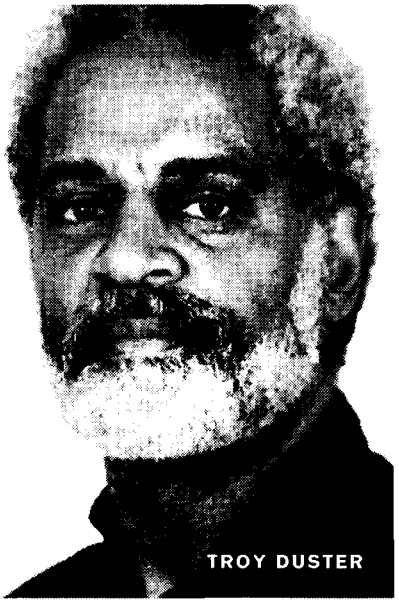
Of course, not everyone appreciates all this activity. Indeed, ELSI's intrusion into the scientific realm has sometimes infuriated the hundreds of molecular geneticists toiling away in genome labs around the globe, from Palo Alto to Paris. Some scientists are put off by ethicists peering over their shoulders and complain bitterly that ELSI meddles in their relationships with lab subjects, imposes overly protective informed-consent rules, and ties them up in endless jawboning about topics the ELSI types don't fully understand. Many molecular geneticists dislike having to notify a study subject each time a fragment of his DNA is cloned for comparison with somebody else's; they resent having to justify inquiries into alcoholism or neurosis to a bunch of snooping sociologists. "I spend a lot of my time going to ethics conferences right now," grouses David Goldman, chief of the Laboratory of Neurogenetics in the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. "My perception is that a climate is being created that's going to make it more difficult to do genetic research."

GEORGE ANNAS

Social-science skeptics, on the other hand, feel ELSI doesn't do enough—and grumble that the project's purse strings are controlled by the very scientists it was created to critique. George Annas ran up against these sorts of limits after he got ELSI funding to draw up a national Genetic Privacy Act. Annas proposed that DNA samples be destroyed after they were used in lab tests, because "as the Genome Project goes on, scientists will be able to learn things about you from that sample that you don't know yourself." (It might reveal, for example, a potential case of Alzheimer's disease, interesting news to an insurance company.) The ELSI Working Group endorsed Annas's project but the scientists on the advisory council opposed the idea of destroying DNA samples. And though Senator Pete Domenici (Rep., N.M.) has since introduced a version of Annas's act as legislation, the sample-destruction part will likely die without the advisory council's support.

An even fiercer battle between the Working Group and the genome advisory council erupted over whether and how to respond to *The Bell Curve,* the 1994 book by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein that claimed IQ was determined by genes and varies almost unalterably along racial and ethnic lines. All the Working Group members regarded the book as bad science, and many of them wanted to condemn it publicly. But to many of the senior genome scientists, the effort smacked of misguided do-goodism. "There's no science in *The Bell Curve,* so why denounce it?" says David Botstein, head of the Stanford Genome Laboratory.

That is precisely the kind of attitude that frustrates David Cox, Botstein's colleague at Stanford. "When *The Bell Curve* came out, you couldn't pick up a magazine without seeing essays about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it," says Cox, an innovative geneticist who's served on ELSI boards for several years and was recently named to President Clinton's National Bioethics Advisory Commission. "The genetics societies were the only ones who said nothing. Their approach was, 'It's not in our job description.' Well, that's a very narrow view of life. The rest of the world was commenting. My view is we have to make the scientists comfortable with that becoming part of their job description. Most scientists think, you isolate the gene, report in *Science*, and the work is done. Actually, the work may only be beginning." After much debate, Cox's activist approach won, but just barely: ELSI published a thousand-word statement in the *American Journal of Human Genetics* this past September—long after passions over the book had cooled.

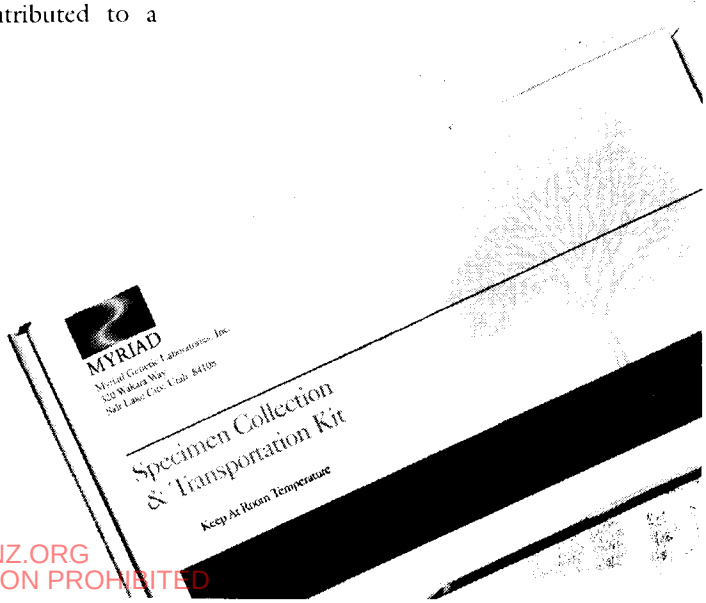
THOUGH ELSI's hands may often be tied, it's at least succeeded in flushing many geneticists out of their labs to consider the consequences of their work. Francis Collins, the University of Michigan molecular geneticist who took over the genome project in 1993, has shown deep interest in ELSI issues. He created the on-site ELSI program at NIH, for example. And he appears truly anguished by the gap between the powerful diagnostic tests that can detect future diseases and the limited range of therapies that can avert them—a gap that means abortion, which Collins, a devout Christian, opposes on religious grounds, is often the only preventive option when an embryo shows a serious genetic defect. While Watson's strategy was to throw money at the ELSI types and then largely ignore them, Collins has increasingly taken ELSI issues under his wing.

In fact, the education of Francis Collins might be listed among the successes of ELSI. Annas, who sat on a panel of the American College of Human Geneticists with Collins in 1993, recalls that at the time, Collins was urging blanket screening of all women for the breast cancer gene, which Collins the laboratory scientist had helped track down. But recently Collins has come out against companies that are trying to commercialize breast cancer tests. "I'm quite concerned that we don't yet have enough information" about the usefulness of the tests, he told *Science* this past October. Later this year, a task force panel, using data from scientific consortia funded by ELSI, is supposed to finalize recommendations about how and when the tests for various cancers and cystic fibrosis should be used. A few companies, among them Myriad Genetic Laboratories of Salt Lake City, are rushing ahead to market cancer tests, but most have agreed to follow ELSI-established protocols. "We don't market products without clinical evidence behind them," says Evan Jones, chairman of Digene Corporation, a Beltsville, Maryland, biotech firm.

But even Collins ultimately clashed with ELSI's activist agenda. Last April, a dispute over a proposed ELSI study on the volatile link between genes and behavior led to the resignation of Working Group chair Lori Andrews, a law professor at Chicago-Kent College of Law. (Andrews, whose research is currently funded by an ELSI grant, refuses to comment on the affair.) For several months, Dorothy Nelkin and other Working Group members had been seeking $25,000 to commission a critical review of the literature on behavioral genetics. Nelkin felt research in the field had helped distort popular understanding and contributed to a vogue for genetic determinism in criminology. An ELSI study, she concluded, might help clear the air.

But from the start, Collins rejected the idea. In public, he said there was no money; critics contend that he was simply reluctant to fund a debunking project that was likely to inflame the many practitioners of behavior genetics. When Andrews quit, apparently in protest of Collins's decision, Collins responded by commissioning a panel to thoroughly review ELSI's mandate. As he told *Science,* "There was some uncertainty on the Working Group itself...about what exactly its mission was." The conclusions of the seven-month review, released in December, spelled out big future changes for ELSI. The panel unanimously recommended that the Working Group be split in two, with one group overseeing extramural grants and another—the policy panel—answering to Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala rather than to Collins. Was Collins simply trying to get ELSI off his back? Perhaps. But by pushing the Working Group up the bureaucratic ladder, Collins may finally be giving some teeth to the ELSI agenda.

MYRIAD GENETIC LABORATORIES'S BREAST CANCER SCREENING KIT



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WITHOUT A doubt, ELSI has worked hard to focus attention on ethical dilemmas arising from genetic research—the practical threats to our privacy, our sanity, our health insurance. And in doing so, it has often struggled with scientists (eager to do their work in peace) and the biotechnology industry (eager to get new products on the market as soon as possible). But when it comes to challenging the notion that human beings can be reduced to their genes, the ELSI panelists needn't take such an adversarial role: They can rely on the scientific research itself. In a sense, ELSI's greatest achievement may be the way it's helped familiarize nonspecialists with the intricacies of molecular genetics. For example, when the Working Group finally published its condemnation of *The Bell Curve,* it used arguments taken from the vanguard of genetics research: "The more scientists learn about human genes, the more complexity is revealed," the statement read. "This complexity has become apparent as more genes correlated with human genetic diseases are discovered.... Simplistic claims about the inheritance of such a complex trait as cognitive ability are unjustifiable; moreover, as the history of eugenics shows, they are dangerous."

Few geneticists would go as far as Harvard biologist Richard Lewontin, who contends that the complexity of the human organism renders specific genetic effects largely irrelevant to the etiology of disease. But recent genetic finds are raising researchers' awareness of the complexity of genetic interactions. At the dawn of the genome project, molecular geneticists often focused on simple genetic diseases. For example, in one of the first important accomplishments of positional cloning (the process that is now widely used to link genes to traits), researchers in 1983 found a location on chromosome 4 linked to Huntington's disease. This kind of "one gene, one disease" formula enticed scientists with the prospect of making relatively easy progress in the understanding and treatment of inherited diseases.

But the Huntington's model has turned out to be the exception rather than the rule, as evidenced by a recent letter that Stanford geneticists David Botstein and Neil Risch published in *Nature Genetics.* Calling for scientists to use more rigorous statistical efforts in interpreting linkage studies, it noted that over the last twelve years, sixteen different research groups have announced the discovery of genetic linkages for manic depression in fifteen different locations on eleven different chromosomes. Each research group was at first convinced it had found the key linkage for manic depression; none of the results could be reproduced. In the years since the genome project began, triumphal announcements about the genetic foundation of complex traits and diseases have time and again been confronted with studies that failed to reproduce the result—

FRANCIS COLLINS

Dean Hamer's controversial 1993 discovery of a homosexuality gene is an obvious example. Given the growing evidence of complexity, genetics may have advanced to the edge of a new paradigm, Kenneth M. Weiss, a genetic anthropologist at Penn State University, suggested in a recent issue of *Molecular and Evolutionary Phylogenetics.* Some diseases are indeed easy to account for—sickle cell, the classic example, is caused by a single DNA misprint that leads to the creation of sickle-shaped hemoglobin that clogs the bloodstream. But even in the case of Huntington's disease, the variation in the mutation is large—and recently, researchers found several individuals with a Huntington's-type mutation on chromosome 4 who didn't suffer from the disease. In Weiss's view, many human traits may turn out to involve such complex and variable combinations of genes as to be almost unknowable. "These systems can't be predicted from reductionist principles," he said in an interview.

From the ELSI perspective, this is very useful news. But just because the science provides a potential critique of genetic reductionism, it doesn't mean that's the message most people will hear. "From the molecular genetics point of view, it's absolutely clear that we're demolishing the arguments of genetic determinism," says Cox. "But the facts have never got in the way of people who wanted to use genetics in a deterministic way in our society. And I think this is where my colleagues miss the boat. Just because something is scientifically right and proven, it isn't the end of the story. You have to consider how that fact is going to be parlayed into people's lives."

And that's where ELSI comes in, Cox says—if nothing else, by giving people like him a chance to mouth off to the press. Cox believes that all the grant money and public interest in genetics are leading to hasty publication of tantalizing but insubstantial results. As an example, he cites the article published by *Science* in late November announcing the discovery of a gene related to the brain's ability to use serotonin, which helps alleviate anxiety. Natalie Angier's punchy writeup of the announcement played

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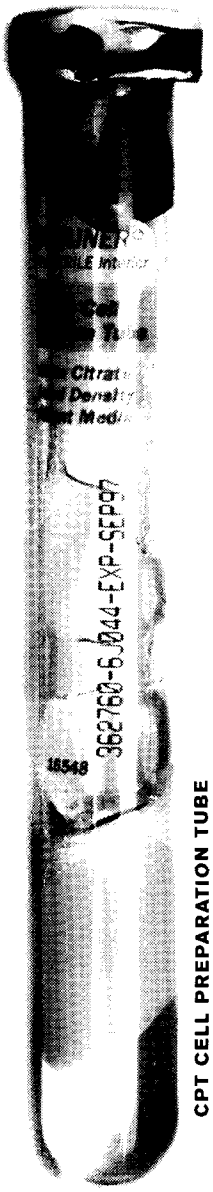
on the front page of *The New York Times* under the memorable headline, GRUMPY, FEARFUL NEUROTICS APPEAR TO BE SHORT ON A GENE. While the researchers—including Dean Hamer—insisted in interviews that the impact of the "neuroticism gene" (which, incidentally, was carried by two thirds of the study subjects) was quite small, in Cox's view that was just window dressing for their rush to publish an essentially meaningless study. "The dynamic goes like this: The public is interested in genetics because it offers a way of understanding the world and giving them a modicum of control. So the geneticists, rather than realizing that what they're doing is perpetuating a social myth, start thinking there's inherent value in what they're doing. The scientists believe they're the dog and not the tail being wagged."

ELSI's crusade against genetic reductionism hasn't escaped the notice of Collins, who in 1995 wrote in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* that publications about complex traits, however tentatively worded they may be, can easily be misinterpreted to deemphasize the role of social and environmental factors. In an assessment of the Human Genome Project to date, Collins wrote that the project "will need to foster a better understanding of the meaning of human genetic variation among members of the public and the professions, and expand its efforts to propose policy initiatives designed to prevent genetic stigmatization, discrimination, and other misinterpretation or misuse of genetic information." So even though it may sometimes speak through the voice of Francis Collins, ELSI is being heard.

Of course, there's a major downside to the new genetics paradigm ELSI promotes. For while the new complexity may run sociobiologists out of town, it also means the project offers diminishing hope for the sick—less predictability, after all, means less understanding and fewer immediate results in the form of medical treatment. "Expectations that new therapies will quickly grow out of genetic research have been a bit overblown," says Robert Weinberg, a molecular biologist at MIT's Whitehead Institute. It had been hoped that once a disease gene was isolated, scientists could figure out the proteins it coded for, and from there sleuth out biological misfires. But it turns out that, because of the complex interplay of effects, knowing the gene's chemistry won't provide a systematic shortcut to disease cures. In the short term, the main products stemming from the genome project are the diagnostic tests arising from the isolation of genes. And since these tests are of limited value, part of ELSI's job is to instill a little humility in the scientists who create them.



CPT CELL PREPARATION TUBE

A FEW weeks after the Genetic-Testing Task Force's debate on breast cancer tests, the genome project's ethicist-in-residence, Dartmouth bioethicist Ron Green, organizes another ELSI debate on genetic screening. The debate takes place at a conference room in the new Silvio Conte building, which, like many buildings on the NIH campus, is named for a congressmen who doled out millions to the scientists working here. This time, the focus isn't breast cancer but hemochromatosis, which while not exactly a household name happens to be one of the most common inherited disorders in America, affecting up to one million people. In hemochromatosis, the body absorbs too much iron, which eventually can damage the vital organs—causing liver cancer, diabetes, heart disease, and a host of other problems. In the vast majority of cases, the disease is apparently caused by having two copies of the same mutated gene. Once detected, it's treated with a seventeenth-century therapy: bloodletting.

The ELSI debate—winningly titled "Hemochromatosis: Poster Child for Genetic Screening?"—proves to be a lively one. NIH molecular geneticist Dennis Drayna—who is also on the scientific board of Mercator Genetics, the California biotech company that announced the isolation of the hemochromatosis gene in July—argues enthusiastically for some kind of screening program. (Not coincidentally, his company has filed for a patent for the hemochromatosis gene and stands to make millions if the government encourages hemochromatosis screening.) "I'm going to play the capitalist here and say that if there was ever a case for genetic screening, this is it," Drayna enthuses. If the entire population were screened, he says, those who tested positive could come in every year to have their blood tested. If they had too much iron, they could be bled—twice a week to start, then a couple times a year. Simple. Well, sort of, except that Drayna had walked into an ELSI lion's den: Half the audience of fifty or so seems to be philosophers, ethicists, and antiestablishment scientists, many of them fresh from the breast cancer gene debate. Immediately, his presumptions are questioned: What about the loss of health insurance if you test positive for hemochromatosis? Will HMOs pay to

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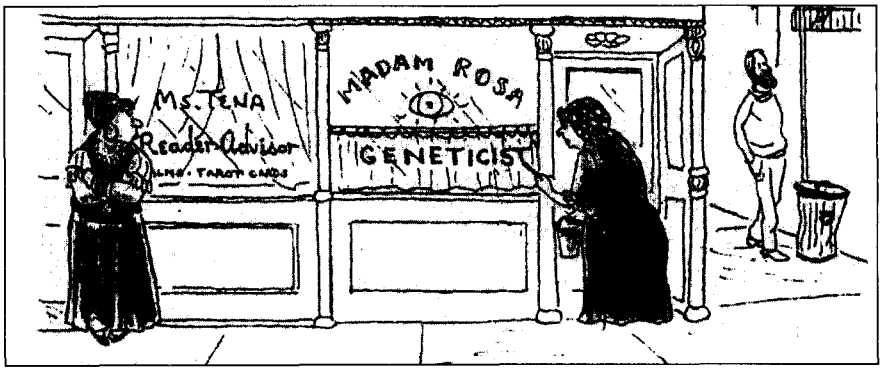

draw blood from a healthy person? What about false negatives—the 13 percent of hemochromatosis sufferers who, for some mysterious reason, don't have the gene? Is this newfangled test any better—or cheaper—than existing blood tests for hemochromatosis? Elizabeth Thomson, a senior ELSI official at the genome project, suggests that Drayna and his colleagues have got carried away with the elegance of their science and the desire to recoup their research costs. "Since when do we start diagnosing people not based on their health but based on their genotype?" she asks. "Why should we believe a gene test rather than what we see in front of us?"

After two hours of discussion, Drayna gets in the last word: "About one in ten Americans has at least one copy of the hemochromatosis gene. That means someone in this room is a carrier," he says, striking an ominous note. "And there is some evidence that [having only one gene] can affect your health."

A few ELSI types aren't going to interfere with Mercator Genetics' plan to distribute the gene test, Drayna says later. But the questions raised at this in-house forum will come up again this month when officials from the NIH and the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) meet in Atlanta to discuss hemochromatosis. In this way, the ELSI forum may have an impact on the CDC's proposed screening guidelines, guidelines that practitioners will eventually follow in deciding whether to use Mercator's test. Drayna has no problem with that, he says; the ethicists help companies like Mercator work through problems before their products get to market. Ultimately, however, it's the market that is going to decide their value. If HMOs think the Mercator test will help save them money by identifying hemochromatosis patients who won't have to get liver transplants, then HMOs will pay for the test—they will insist on it, in fact. In other words, "quality control." That may be the biggest impact that ELSI can hope for.

THE HUMAN Genome Project is scheduled to close up shop in 2005. And when it does, ELSI will shut down as well. The program's effort to banish genetic reductionism and limit the spread of high-tech genetic hucksterism will then become the responsibility of other institutions, and of society at large. It's a big challenge, but perhaps not as big as it seems. Celeste Condit, a University of Georgia communications professor who has collected survey data to gauge perceptions of genetic determinism in U.S. society, says such beliefs don't run as deep as many ELSI scholars assume. People don't need ethicists in order to believe in free will; they've been skeptical about the Holy Grail theory of genetics for a long time.

George Annas, the Boston University ethicist, casts the spread of genetic knowledge and entrepreneurialism in a different light. He's equally optimistic, though in his own way.

"To try to educate the American people about genetics is a formidable challenge," Annas says. "The only gene they care about is the fat gene. Can I get an injection of that and eat all I want? My guess is that most people don't believe anything they hear about any of this, and that's one reason they don't run out and get the breast cancer gene test. They've learned news is entertainment. They're entertained, but they don't run out and buy it. And that's mostly a good thing."

Arthur Allen is a writer who lives in Washington, D.C. His article, "Our MBAs in Havana," appeared in the July/August 1996 issue of *Lingua Franca*.

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FIGHTING

ADOLPH REED'S CRUSADE AGAINST THE NEW BLACK INTELLECTUALS

CORNEL WEST CONSIDERS HIM mean-spirited. William Julius Wilson prefers not to appear in public with him. Manning Marable characterized one of his recent articles as scurrilous. The object of their scorn is not Charles Murray or Dinesh D'Souza, but Adolph Reed Jr., a professor of political science and American studies at Northwestern University who has emerged as an acerbic commentator on matters pertaining to race, politics, and the role of the intellectual. His combative rhetorical style and contrarian sensibility have won him admirers—*Nation* columnist Katha Pollitt calls him "the smartest person of any race, class, or gender writing on race, class, and gender"—as well as powerful enemies, including some of the most influential figures in the academy.

Until the early 1990s, Reed was best known as the author of *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon: The Crisis of Purpose in Afro-American Politics* (Yale, 1986), a scathing, unsentimental assessment from the left of Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign. But Reed's visibility has been steadily rising since then, thanks to his frequent contributions to *The Village Voice, The Nation,* and *The Progressive,* and most of all to his incendiary polemic in the April 11, 1995, issue of the *Voice* titled "What Are the Drums Saying, Booker? The Current Crisis of the Black Intellectual."

Reed's essay was a hand grenade hurled into the burgeoning debate concerning the "new black intellectuals," whose emergence had been chronicled in *The New Yorker, The Atlantic Monthly, The New Republic,* and other publications. In particular, the essay was directed at five well-known individuals: Henry Louis Gates Jr., Michael Eric Dyson, Cornel West, bell hooks, and Robin Kelley, a professor of history at New York University. Reed took issue with both the quality of their scholarship and the way they attempt to straddle the academic and public spheres: "West, Dyson, et al. use the public intellectual pose to claim authority both as certified, world-class elite academics and as links to an extra- academic blackness," he wrote. "In the process, they are able to skirt the practical requirements of either role—to avoid both rigorous, careful intellectual work *and* protracted, committed political action."

After assailing West ("Bill Bradley's favorite conduit to the Mind of the Negro"), Gates (a "freelance advocate for black political centrism" yet "the most intellectually probing and most consistent of the group"), and Dyson and hooks ("hustlers, blending bombast, clichés, psychobabble, and lame guilt tripping in service to the 'pay

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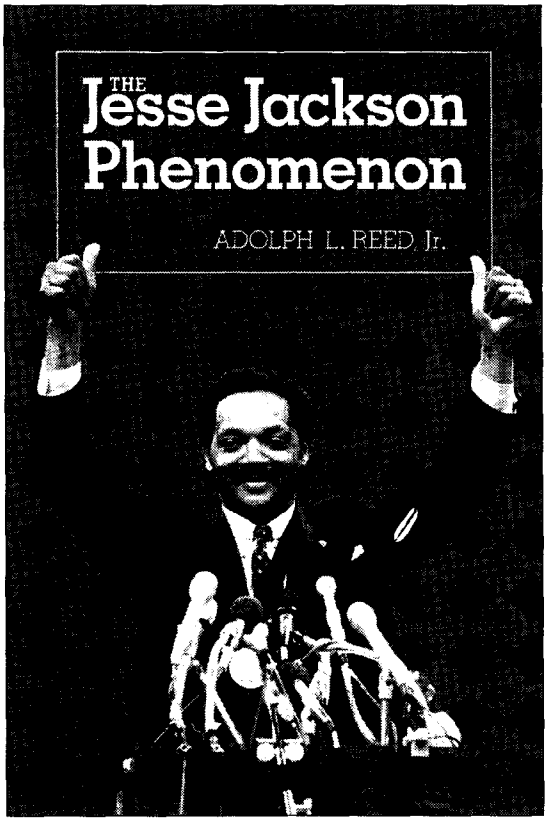
me' principle"), Reed contrasted them with an earlier group of black intellectuals, including Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the young Ralph Bunche—as well as contemporary figures such as Lani Guinier and Julian Bond—who participated in a common debate aimed at "stimulating, directing, and taking political action." The figures hailed by the media as black public intellectuals, Reed averred, "are more like the Super Friends than the Frankfurt School or the Howard University social scientists of the 1930s."

Not mincing words, Reed added: "[Their] stance...is by and large just that—not a stand but a posture. Can the reader familiar with their work recall without hesitation a specific critique, a concrete formulation—an extended argument that is neither airily abstract nor cozily compatible with what passes for common sense at the moment? I'd bet not, because in this arena prominence of author counts more than weight of utterance."

Of course, to conduct political debate in such a bruising manner is bound to provoke an angry reaction—not least because accusations of posturing and opportunism can easily be turned against the one who makes them. Reed himself works simultaneously as a professor, a journalist, and a grassroots political activist. And in doing so, he runs the risk of falling into his own trap—of always being, in his words, "from and on the way to the other place." In his recent writings, Reed has attempted to strip the new black intellectuals debate of its celebrity veneer—removing it from the realm of the glossy magazines and glare of Charlie Rose's studio—and to refocus it on concrete political engagement. But to his critics, it is not clear that professional success and political virtue can be so starkly opposed.



IN A letter to the *Voice*, Kelley called the article outrageous and attributed it to jealousy. Writing in *Z* magazine, hooks accused Reed of deliberately ignoring the feminist dimensions of her work. But it was Manning Marable, director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies at Columbia University, who offered the most comprehensive reply. In *New Politics*, a small "journal of socialist thought," Marable agreed with some aspects of Reed's essay—for instance, his contention that many black intellectuals lack viable constituencies within the African-American community—but criticized the way it mistakenly lumped together scholars of varying interests and political orientations. Moreover, at a time when conservatives have made a "strategic decision to delegitimate the liberal-left black intelligentsia," Marable argued that Reed's piece was "irresponsible."

The Reed–Marable debate went several more rounds in *New Politics*. "The notion that we must take special care to protect and insulate from criticism a group of celebrity professors with safe, cushy jobs because the right-wing bogeyman might get them," Reed retorted, "is offensive and demeaning to the exemplary legacy of lively critical debate among black intellectuals in previous generations, people who actually did incur substantial risks." Marable, his temperature rising, countered that Reed is not interested in establishing a constructive dialogue, that his tone echoes the extreme language of the right, and that he is "out of step" with black America in his harsh criticisms of Louis Farrakhan and former NAACP head Benjamin Chavis.

The exchange highlighted fissures within the African-American left intelligentsia and raised a number of salient questions, including: What precisely is the obligation of the engaged black intellectual? To what extent should his or her activities be tied to grassroots organizing? How should such individuals react to the heightened popularity of Farrakhan? And the exchange also revealed that Reed's quarrel with the black intelligentsia derives from his larger quarrel with what he calls "the notion of a 'black community' and the rhetoric of authenticity that comes with it." In Reed's view, repeated use of the term by politicians, intellectuals, and demagogues glosses over the stratification and complexity of African-American life while reinforcing an imaginary image of civil rights–era grassroots clout. Reed's unfavorable assessment of African-American politics rests on the idea that the mainstream black elite since the late 1960s has consolidated a "racially assertive but still accommodationist" politics that traded activism for backroom negotiation. Out of that demobilization rose a leadership-based model, rich in contrived symbolism, grounded in the "mythos of the singular Black Leader," and reinforced by films such as Spike Lee's *Malcolm X* and the cults of personality surrounding Farrakhan and, to a lesser extent, Jesse Jackson.

Indeed, Reed's opposition to hero worship and race loyalty is nowhere more evident than in his treatment of Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam (NOI). In a two-part article in *The Nation* in 1991 that dissected Farrakhan's conservatism, patriarchal vision, and bootstrap ideology, Reed

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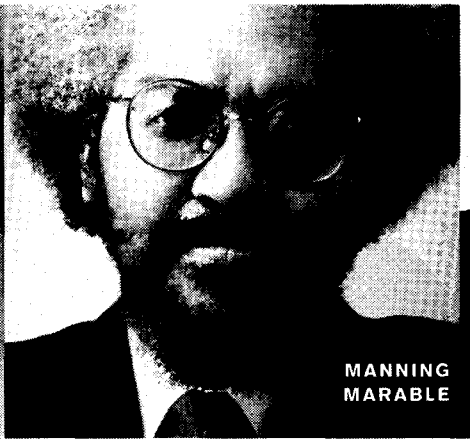
demanded to know why the civil rights establishment and other sectors of liberal black opinion had, up until then, expressed little public concern about Farrakhan's "protofascist" tendencies. The *Nation* article, considered by many to be the definitive portrait of the NOI leader, launched Reed's journalistic career.

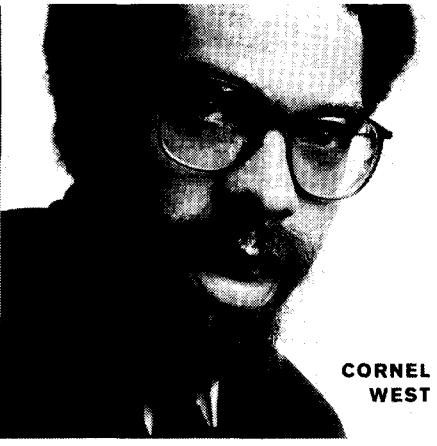
Several years later, when Manning Marable called for an open dialogue with Farrakhan in the wake of the Million Man March, Reed was vociferously opposed to any contact with the minister. He cited Farrakhan's recent defense of the dictatorships in Nigeria and Zaire and insisted that Marable's view was "stunningly unprincipled" because, in effect, it called for "appeasement" of an individual Reed considers dangerous.

fundamental disagreement about the role of the church in black politics, a subject they publicly debated at a forum sponsored by Yale's Black Graduate Network back in 1987. Reed devoted an entire chapter of *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon* to an attack on what he sees as the church's duplicitous role in African-American history. West, on the other hand, has always insisted that the church is an essential component of grassroots mobilization. (Harvard's Martin Kilson is quick to note that West's involvement in activist congregations in Trenton and New Brunswick undercuts Reed's depiction of West as politically disengaged.) The feud escalated in 1991 when *The New York Times Magazine* ran a profile of West in which Reed was quoted as saying,

That Reed seems to derive excessive pleasure from the vilification of others—especially those on the liberal left—is a complaint frequently lodged against him. His rough treatment of Marable is illustrative. In *New Politics* the Columbia professor made a passing reference to his own role as an active leader in the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA), a coalition of black nationalists, in the 1970s. In preparing for the final round of the exchange, Reed got on the phone with some old acquaintances to inquire about Marable's participation in the NBPA and duly reported back that "no one has Marable's recollection of his prominence." "My point in all this," Reed wrote by way of explanation, "isn't to establish my bona fides as a Long Marcher and to one-up Marable's

MICHAEL ERIC DYSON


MANNING MARABLE


CORNEL WEST

(LEFT TO RIGHT) DAN SEARS; COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; DOUG KNUTSON

TO SOME EXTENT,

Reed's quarrel with the new black intellectuals is the result of a long, complicated history with them. He has never met Dyson—whom he ridicules as the "Reverend Hiphop Porkchop"—but he and hooks overlapped at Yale. He maintains warm relations with Gates, he says, but feels a special antipathy for Cornel West, whose involvement in the black church goes against the grain of Reed's own anticlerical sensibilities.

Indeed, the long-running feud between Reed and West is rooted in a

"Cornel's work tends to be 1,000 miles wide and about two inches deep."

"In so many ways brother Adolph is a sad case of one who has squandered so much of his promise and talent primarily owing to the fact that there is so much hatred and contempt in his writings—and, I suspect, in his life, too," West says. "That's sad, because when you read his early work in the journals *Endarch* and *Telos,* you had some fascinating formulations at work. Owing to whatever it is—insecurity, intellectual laziness—he just ended up doing this flat journalistic stuff."

political history, although I confess to relief at giving in to a long repressed impulse to set the record straight."

What may be most surprising about the war of words between Reed and Marable is the fact that they have much in common. Both are socialists—Marable is best known for his 1983 book *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*. Both harbor a dislike of black nationalism and the rightward trajectory of the Democratic Party. And both occupy a narrow corner of the political spectrum, one whose ranks are not exactly swelling. While the differences between them are real, each

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would probably agree that their time could be more effectively spent. After all, while they were insulting each other in the pages of *New Politics* (circulation 3,000), Congress was crafting draconian welfare legislation.

REED IS sitting in his spacious office at Northwestern University, which is strewn with books, newspapers, and leftist periodicals. Unwieldy stacks of paper rest perilously on chairs and cabinets. The phone rings off the hook, and students who are taking his classes on African-American politics and urban policy appear at his door to trade academic minutiae. Looking relaxed in jeans, T-shirt, and sneakers, he rejects the notion that his rhetorical style is alienating those who might serve as allies in coming battles. "I'm cutting off allies who don't mean anything," he says calmly. "They don't represent anything. They don't have a base. They don't mobilize anything."

Regarding Kelley's allegation, echoed by countless others, that he is motivated by jealousy, Reed responded in the *Voice*, "I don't understand of what exactly Kelley imagines me to be jealous. Is it the Super Friends' fame? If so, the charge is a confession."

A confession of what?

"That this notion of public regard is in fact meaningful and something we should want to attain," Reed replies. "It is not something I have an interest in because I know the price. The price of that renown—if that's what it is—is that you must at least genuflect to the prevailing orthodoxies about race and inequality."

He pauses for a moment and shifts in his chair. Suddenly there is a sparkle in his eye. Becoming an academic celebrity, he says, is "a pretty easy thing to do if you want to do it. But that's not my constituency. That's not my world."

REED'S WORLD, to a considerable extent, is the political and cultural milieu of the left, which may help to explain his fire-breathing manner. "I come from a tradition where polemics were strong because people cared about politics," he says. (The environment of his youth also played a role: "I went to high school in the inner city, and we played the dozens *all day long*.") Reed was born in 1947 in New York. His parents were in the orbit of the Communist Party, and he grew up in the shadow of Henry Wallace, the Rosenbergs, and Joe McCarthy. Adolph Reed Sr., a political scientist, taught at small colleges in the south, and was dismissed from at least one faculty position because of his civil rights activism.

Much of his childhood was spent in New Orleans, and in 1963 he was one of the first black students to attend Tulane University. He left after a year. Three decades later, when Reed was being aggressively courted to teach at Tulane, the mayor of New Orleans, who was an old family friend, tried unsuccessfully to lure him back to his hometown.

ADOLPH REED (RIGHT) AT THE LABOR PARTY'S FOUNDING CONVENTION IN JUNE 1996

MICHAEL KAUFMAN; IMPACT VISUALS

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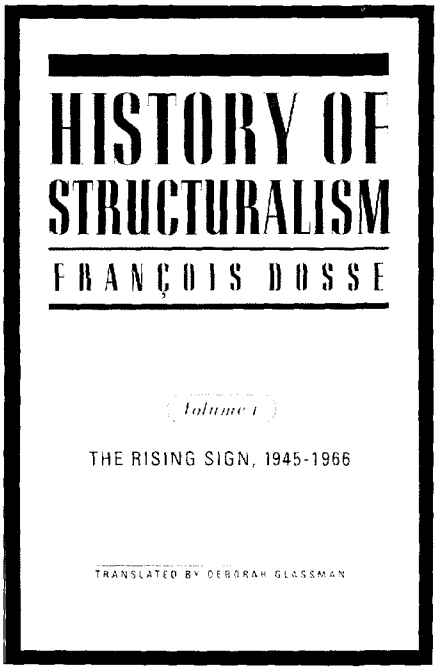

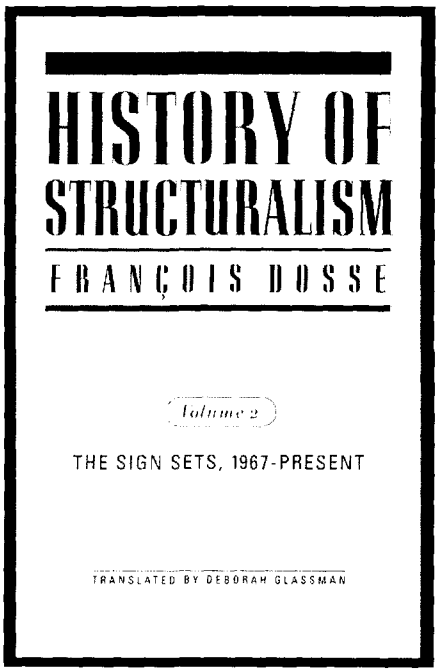

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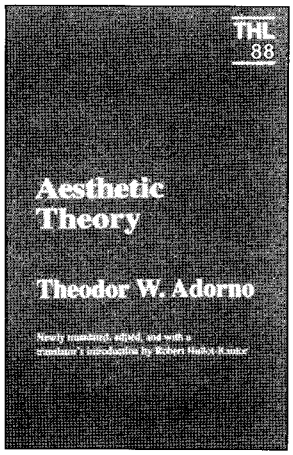

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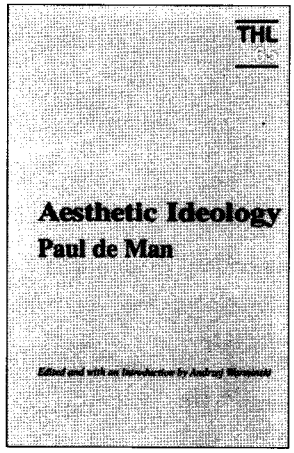

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He eventually wound up attending college at the University of North Carolina, where he threw himself into political work as state organizer for the youth section of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Disillusioned by the sectarianism he found there, he left campus in the fall of 1969 and joined the GI Coffeehouse movement, a support network for antiwar soldiers, at Fort Bragg. Reed helped organize the poor neighborhoods surrounding the base and worked with dissident servicemen. He continued as an organizer until 1972, when, sensing that the movement was drying up around him, he went back to school. Several years later, he received a Ph.D. in political science from Atlanta University. While writing his dissertation—titled "W.E.B. Du Bois: Liberal Collectivism and the Effort to Consolidate a Black Elite"—Reed held several jobs in Atlanta city government, including a position as a policy analyst for Mayor Maynard Jackson. In 1981 he was hired by Yale to teach political science and American studies. In 1988 he was promoted to full professor.

AFTER a decade in New Haven, however, Reed was beginning to feel restless, and in 1991 he left Yale for Northwestern. For the most part, he was not politically active in the 1980s and arrived in Chicago with no commitment to grassroots politics. But a chance encounter in a restaurant with a member of the Coalition for New Priorities (CNP), an umbrella network of more than one hundred community organizations, inspired him to participate. "He just said 'use me,' so we used him," recalls Bernice Bild, the treasurer (and former executive director) of the CNP. Reed eventually became cochair, an unpaid position he holds today.

In Chicago, the CNP was at the forefront of organizing opposition to the Contract With America, and Reed played a key role in planning a demonstration that drew more than three thousand people, in June 1995. Later, when Newt Gingrich appeared at the American Booksellers Association convention in Chicago, Reed and a raucous band of demonstrators confronted him, and CNN was on hand to videotape it. Suzan Erem of the Service Employees International Union, Local 73, who put in sixty-hour weeks alongside Reed in the months leading up to the larger rally, recalled that she didn't realize until much later that he was a professor. "I thought he was a full-time activist," Erem says.

The range of his political activities,

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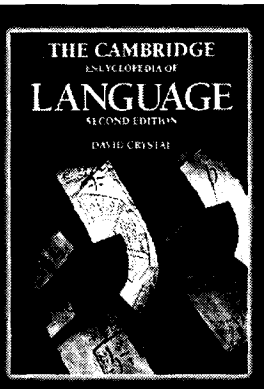

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on and off campus, is extensive. He recently advised Northwestern students about how to create a cross-campus progressive student alliance that might incorporate both community and elite colleges, and he assisted activist Alice Palmer in her unsuccessful race against Jesse Jackson Jr. for a congressional seat on Chicago's south side. These days, however, most of Reed's energy is dedicated to the Labor Party, an ambitious, and perhaps quixotic, attempt to give trade union workers an independent voice in the political arena. In a recent *Voice* column, he insisted that organized labor holds the key to the left's resuscitation: "For all the limitations of the labor movement and of the individuals who comprise it, there's no place else where the left's political concerns gain a hearing and have a constituency outside the coffee shops, cultural studies programs, and sectarian hutches."

Reed is occasionally forced to choose between his academic and political commitments. In June 1995, with the CNP rally looming, he sought the endorsement of a local immigrants' rights group whose presence, he hoped, would boost the overall turnout. He was told to present himself at one of their meetings and to wait patiently until the end, when the subject of endorsements would be raised. The meeting happened to conflict with a conference sponsored by the American Philosophical Association, where Reed was scheduled to participate in a panel discussion on race and IQ. He obtained the endorsement—after waiting five hours—and never made it to the discussion at the Palmer House Hilton.

GIVEN MANY of Reed's beliefs, the target of his first book was, in the context of American politics in the mid-1980s, a rather obvious one. In *The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon,* he argued that Jackson's 1984 campaign was grounded in an antidemocratic political style; that it was bereft of a concrete program for political and economic advancement; that it offered little more than expressive catharsis and tent-revival imagery; and that it pandered to white leftists. Situating Jackson within the larger milieu of post–civil rights African-American politics, Reed asserted that his defeat reflected the "general failure of black political elites to formulate programmatic agendas that are meaningful to their claimed constituents." Discomforted by the attacks on blacks who publicly criticized Jackson, Reed concluded with a call for a new "civic liberalism" in African-American politics: "Dissent must be dissociated from the stigma of race treason," he wrote.

C. Vann Woodward in *The New Republic* and David Garrow in *Dissent* applauded Reed's efforts. Others were less approving. In *The Washington Post Book World*, Kenneth Clark wrote that "nowhere does Adolph Reed give evidence that he understands, or is capable of coping with, the complexity of Jackson as personality, civil rights leader, or political candidate." Shirley Washington, writing in *The Black Scholar,* reminded Reed that "the enemy is the racist society, not Jackson." Some readers took Reed for a conservative. A fan letter from Clarence Thomas expressed relief that finally a black person had the courage to expose Jackson's shortcomings.

After the publication of the Jackson book, and before he took on the black intelligentsia, much of Reed's energy was devoted to questioning popular stereotypes about the so-called under-

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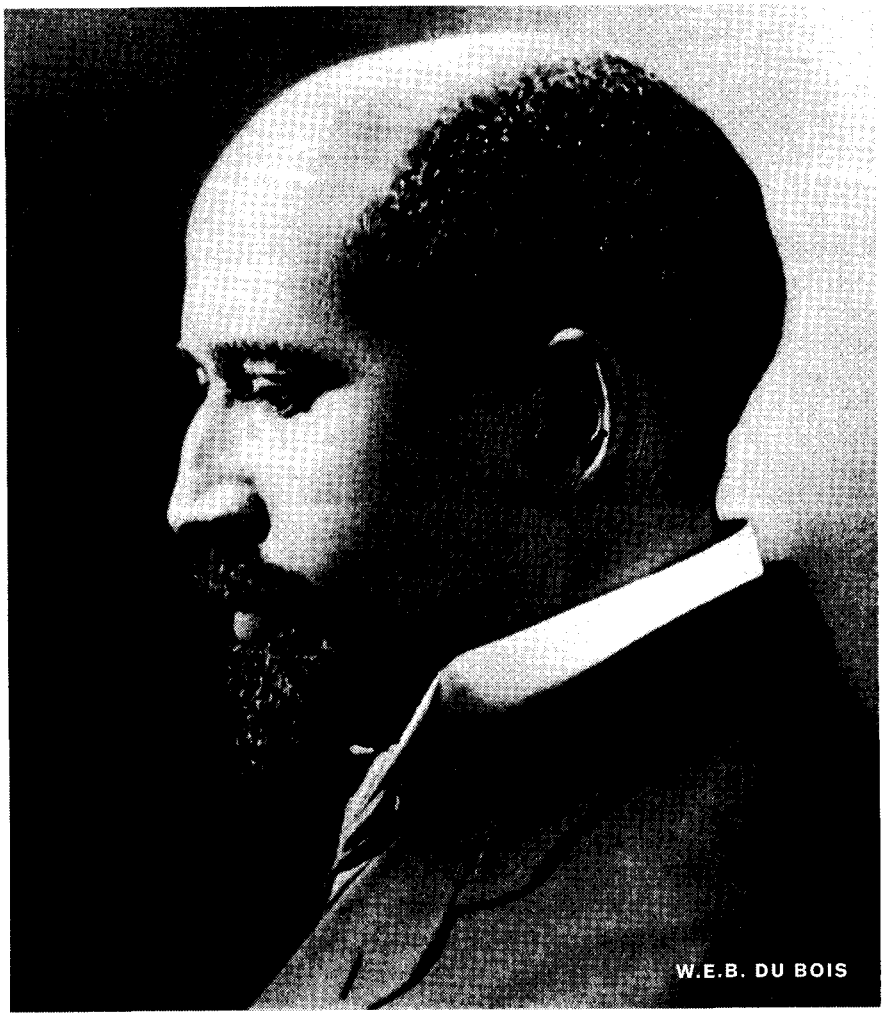

W.E.B. DU BOIS

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class. In a 1991 article in *Radical America*, Reed noted how the Reagan years spawned a discourse that highlighted the "defective nature of poor people's motivations, moral character and behavior."

According to Reed, this essentially Victorian view, embraced by liberals as well as conservatives, carries with it the burden of moral regeneration, behavior modification, and "special tutelage by black betters." Implicit in this discourse, Reed observed in a much discussed review of Shelby Steele's *The Content of Our Character*, is an assumption that "black Americans must straighten themselves out instead of making demands on the state for equity as citizens." He believes that public debates concerning poverty should focus on the structural and political forces that account for inequality, not on the lifestyles of inner-city residents.

The *Radical America* essay strove to counteract the lurid media accounts of "slothful, baby-factory mothers" and the double standards inherent therein:

> How exactly does out-of-wedlock birth become an instance of social pathology? If a thirty-five-year-old lawyer decides to have a baby without seal of approval from church or state or enduring male affiliation, we quite rightly do not consider her to be acting pathologically; we may even properly laud her independence and refusal to knuckle under to patriarchal conventions. Why does such a birth become pathological when it occurs in the maternity ward in Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx, say, rather than within the pastel walls of an alternative birthing center? If the one woman's decision expresses pathology because she makes it in poverty, then we have fallen into a nonsensical tautology: she is poor because she is pathological and pathological because she is poor.

Though Reed was hardly alone in making this case, his attack on the "blame

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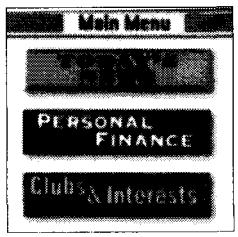

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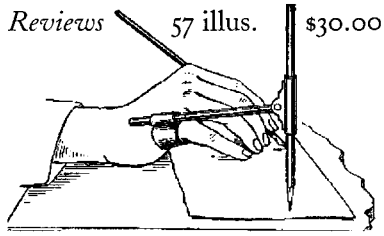

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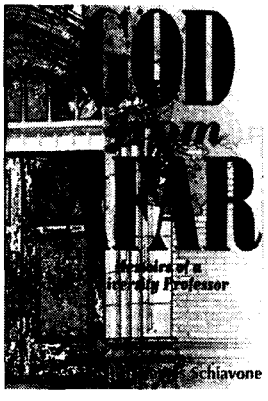
the victims" mentality was an especially far-ranging one. In fact, many of his harshest words were aimed at a scholar who agrees with his emphasis on the structural causes of poverty: William Julius Wilson. Writing in *The Nation* in 1988, Reed praised Wilson's book *The Truly Disadvantaged* as a considerable improvement over existing scholarship and echoed Wilson's call for an omnibus program of jobs and job training. But he took strong issue with Wilson's language—terms such as "aberration," "deviance," and "pathology"—which imply "a mode of social health from which the 'underclass' diverges. What is that model?" he asked. In regard to Wilson's focus on female-headed households, and his plan to create jobs to increase the number of "marriageable" men, Reed detected a "reflexive anti-feminism," grounded in a "Reaganite frame of reference," that led Wilson to adopt "the language of moral repressiveness and patriarchy." According to Reed, Wilson has played a unique role in legitimating underclass rhetoric, and his race has helped him do it: "His endorsement insulates the [underclass] ideology from charges of racism."

Wilson himself has little patience for Reed, or his views. "I have many critics whom I respond to because their criticisms are thoughtful and serious," Wilson says. "Reed's criticisms are not thoughtful and serious. He shoots from the hip and has little regard for the accuracy of some of his assertions. His attacks are driven more by ideology than by empirical facts." He adds: "Reed is a very smart man who could make a real contribution to social science. He's not doing it."

Other scholars have been no friendlier to Reed's writings on the underclass. Critics have argued (in letters to *The Nation*) that by elevating the structural interpretation he has ignored the behavioral realm altogether. Indeed, there may be a significant irony here: While Reed criticizes black intellectuals without hesitation, and holds them to the highest standards of personal integrity, he seems to feel that liberal discussion of destructive inner-city behavior, however well-intentioned, should be avoided, because it inevitably helps the right. In this context, Martin Kilson of Harvard asserted that Reed was "ostrich-like toward the myriad crises among poor blacks." Underclass theorists, wrote Mark Naison of Fordham University, "are not imagining deteriorating conditions in inner-city neighborhoods." And Robert J.S. Ross of Clark University suggested that Reed was playing fast and loose with statistics about family structure and poverty. Not one to shrink from a polemic, Reed unleashed a torrent of facts and invective against his critics.

WHEN some of this smoke clears, Reed's academic reputation is likely to depend less on his work on urban poverty than on his book *W.E.B. Du Bois and American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line,* which Oxford University Press will publish this summer. Reed considers himself a diligent scholar, and, with its vast bibliography and scholastic tone, the Du Bois book is very much a political



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science monograph. In contrast to the wide-ranging work of David Levering Lewis and Arnold Rampersad, Reed's book examines the philosophical and historical underpinnings of Du Bois's "elite-driven organizational model" for the black population, a model that Reed says Du Bois never really abandoned, even in his later years. Reed's larger point is that the core principles of Du Bois's political thought—faith in science, reason, and the authority of experts—make him a much more conservative and traditional thinker than is usually assumed, especially given his later embrace of communism and pan-Africanism.

The concluding chapters offer a wry take on the famous concept of "double consciousness," which Du Bois introduced in *The Souls of Black Folk*. "One ever feels his two-ness," Du Bois wrote. "An American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings." In recent years, countless scholars have employed the concept as a metaphorical characterization of the black American condition. Reed's objection to all this is twofold. First, he argues, the double consciousness notion was never an organizing principle of Du Bois's political thought; indeed, it virtually disappeared from his writings after 1903. Second, Reed contends, the implication that millions of people experience a bifurcated identity simply by virtue of their racial status is a plainly essentialist notion that covers up complexity and diversity within the black community. Citing a passage from Gates's memoir, *Colored People* ("Bach *and* James Brown. Sushi *and* Fried Catfish"), he suggests that the ideology of double consciousness is solidly anchored in the upper echelons of the black social hierarchy. After all, it's the black elite that lives in close proximity to whites and has the most occasion to brood over its "two souls."

The book concludes with a critical assessment of the literary turn in African-American studies, and in particular of the work of Henry Louis Gates Jr. According to Reed, Gates is all too typical of black leadership today. Though Gates questions the notion of black authenticity, his strained efforts to connect African-American culture with African tradition in his book *The Signifying Monkey* suggest that he is, in fact, very attached to that notion. Moreover, by treating African-American

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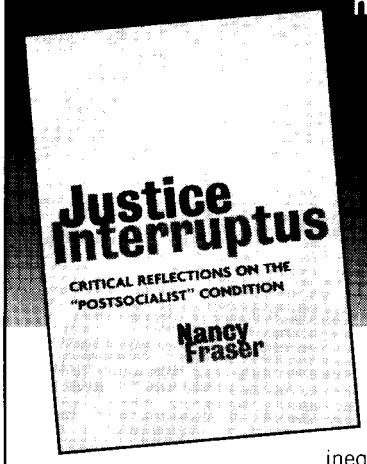

Justice Interruptus asks what it means to think critically about politics at a time when inequality is increasing worldwide, when struggles for the recognition of difference are eclipsing struggles for social equality, and when we lack any credible vision of an alternative to the present order. Fraser claims that the key is to overcome the false oppositions of "postsocialist" commonsense. Refuting the view that we must chose between "the politics of recognition" and "the politics of redistribution," Fraser argues for an integrative approach that encompasses the best aspects of both.

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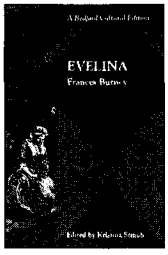

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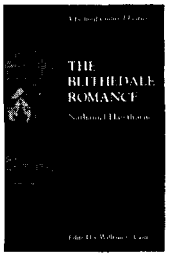

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culture as first and foremost a matter of literary canons and texts, Gates elevates the writer to the dubious role of "point of consciousness" for the race and puts literary form ahead of political agency. The overall result of this approach, Reed says, is a depoliticized brand of scholarship that diverts attention away from concrete political actions, while still taking advantage of a vague aura of political commitment.

Gates welcomes the dialogue, but with certain reservations. "Adolph has played, and will continue to play, an important part within the Afro-American intellectual community," he says. "The problem with his recent writing is his tendency to make ad hominem attacks, to demonize, to lose what I think is his objectivity on occasion—especially when he writes about my friend and colleague Cornel West." In Gates's view, Reed's mode of critical exchange ("I think it's amusing in a barber shop, not in the pages of *The Village Voice*") inhibits a unified assault on the entrenched difficulties of race and class. "If we have to wait until ideological purity is achieved," Gates says, "we'll be waiting for Godot. I don't know about you, but I ain't got the time."

GATES HAS A point: Reed's standards of ideological purity strike many people as overbearing, and, in any case, they are impossible to apply to contemporary American life. But those standards are also responsible for what is most refreshing about his work: his independence. Whether he is excoriating "confused and depressingly ignorant" rappers such as Public Enemy and Sister Souljah, scoring the Million Man March as "the first protest in history in which people gathered to protest themselves," or talking about "Jim Crow standards" on the left, he is beholden to no one. In a 1993 piece for *The Progressive*, which contained echoes of Ralph Ellison's famous riposte to Irving Howe in *The New Leader* in 1964, Reed opined that whites on the left don't want to confront complexity in black politics: "In general, they simply do not see political differences among black people." On many other occasions, he has not hesitated to demolish sacred notions. In the summer of 1995, when many activists leaped to the defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther sentenced to death for killing a Philadelphia police officer, Reed suggested, also in *The Progressive*, that the available evidence leaves open the possibility that he could actually be guilty of the crime for which he was charged, and he cautioned Abu-Jamal's supporters to "avoid the temptation to exalt him as a symbol of progressive politics."

The suspicion of heroes, leaders, and martyrs is a thematic thread that runs through Reed's work and his life. At the end of our final discussion, which touched on Du Bois, E. Franklin Frazier, Harold Cruse, and others, I asked him who the figures were that he most admired. He remarked a bit impatiently that he doesn't have heroes and that a healthy skepticism toward them is necessary. The hostility he feels toward the new black intellectuals is, to a great extent, rooted in his belief that the last thing the country needs is another crop of celebrities. In a 1992 essay on Malcolm X, Reed wrote that Malcolmania supports the "continued evasion of tough political questions" and that Malcolm has consequently become little more than "a frozen icon to be revered, a reification of other people's memories":

> The best way to think...of Malcolm is that he was just like the rest of us—a regular person saddled with imperfect knowledge, human frailties, and conflicting imperatives, but nonetheless trying to make sense of his very specific history, trying unsuccessfully to transcend it, and struggling to push it in a humane direction.... To the extent that we believe otherwise, we turn Malcolm into a postage stamp and reproduce the evasive reflex that has deformed critical black political action for a generation.

Reed's final estimation of Malcolm is one that could apply just as well to any of the numerous individuals who have been the target of his criticism. "He was no prince," he wrote. "There are no princes."

Scott Sherman is a writer who lives in New York. His work has appeared in *Newsday, In These Times, The Boston Review,* and other publications.

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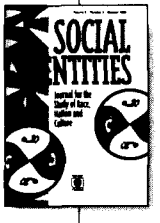

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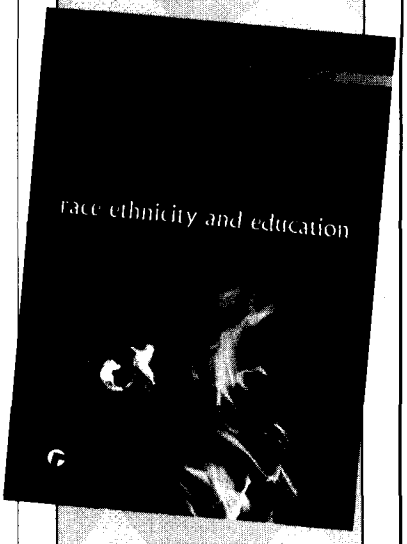

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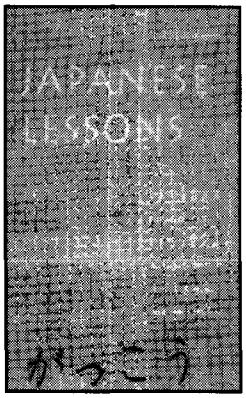

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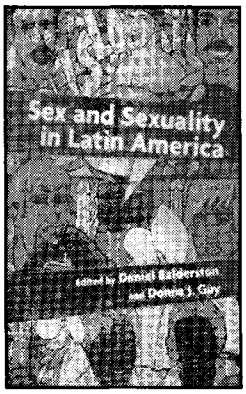

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END

WHY A LEADING JEWISH STUDIES SCHOLAR

A FEW DAYS BEFORE HOWARD EILBERG-SCHWARTZ was scheduled to launch the Jewish studies program at San Francisco State University, he was persuaded by the school's director of human resources to attend an all-day seminar for select faculty members, students, and local Jewish leaders. It was to be Eilberg-Schwartz's introduction to the school's Jewish community, and, understandably, he was nervous. As part of the program, participants were asked to respond to a series of provocative questions by moving to a designated area of the room. When the question "How central is Israel to Judaism?" was posed, he self-consciously took a spot among the smallish group that answered "Not terribly." And when attendees were asked if they thought the statement "Zionism is racism" was anti-Semitic, Eilberg-Schwartz—who sees the movement to create a Jewish state within the broad context of European colonialism—shuffled over toward the corner designated "No." This time he stood virtually alone.

"I remember people coming up to me afterwards and saying how disappointed they were that I had been named head of Jewish studies," Eilberg-Schwartz recalls now, more than two years later. "That's when I knew I wasn't in sync with the local Jewish community. From that moment on, I was branded."

Indeed, that fateful morning in the summer of 1994 would set the stage for a year of conflict between Eilberg-Schwartz and the local Jewish community, one that would culminate in his precipitous departure from the university—and academia altogether—in the fall of 1995. The forty-one-year-old ex-scholar says that the pressure to defend Israel and blunt his critique of Jewish traditions made him feel more like a Hillel rabbi than a professor. For their part, critics on and off the campus accuse Eilberg-Schwartz of being insensitive to the unusual environment at San Francisco State, a deeply politicized school with a vocal

BY **JONATHAN MAHLER**

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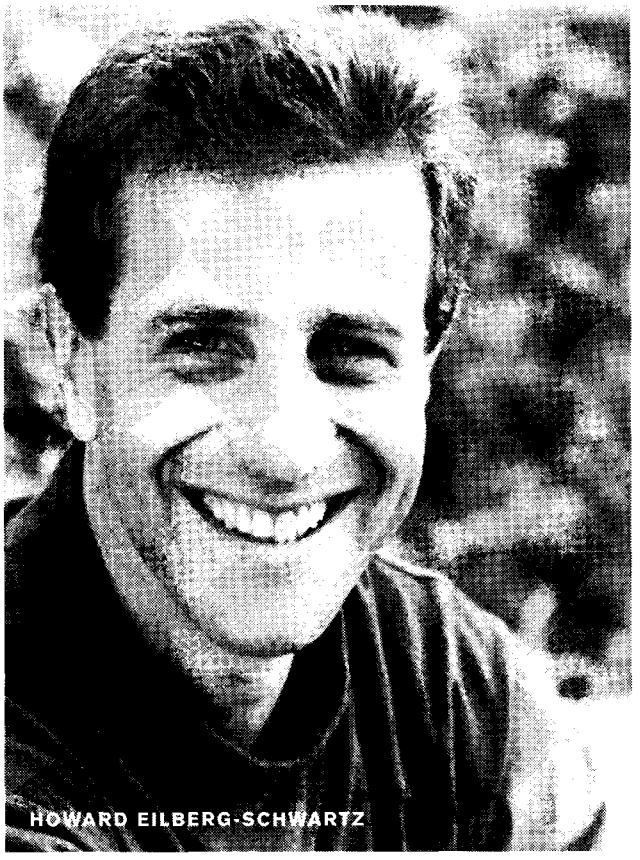
Palestinian student population. To back up their case, they point out that the professor invited a Palestinian activist with an alleged history of making anti-Semitic remarks to speak in his classroom.

At the heart of this disagreement is a quarrel over the role of Jewish studies in the academy and the prerequisites for leadership of such programs. It's a debate that was echoed last summer on the campus of Queens College, when a non-Jewish professor was named head of the Jewish studies program there. The appointment led to objections (as well as two resignations) from Jewish professors who argued that the director should be a "role model" to Jewish students—an impossible task, they contended, for someone outside the faith. For Eilberg-Schwartz, whose scholarly investigations into Jewish identity had only made him more skeptical of many community beliefs, the San Francisco State community's demand that he transform himself from rebel to role model proved too much to bear. But the tale of Eilberg-Schwartz is about more than campus politics. It's also a lesson in the difficulty of reconciling two often contradictory impulses within the multicultural academy: the desire to reach out to other communities while also strengthening feelings of identity among one's own people. Eilberg-Schwartz ultimately felt there was no way he could walk this tightrope—and so he simply cut the cord.



HOWARD EILBERG-SCHWARTZ

THE long-simmering ethnic tensions at San Francisco State bubbled to the surface only weeks after Eilberg-Schwartz agreed to become the school's first director of Jewish studies. It was the spring of 1994 and the student government had just commissioned a local artist to paint a mural of Malcolm X on the wall of the student union. When the ten-foot-by-ten-foot work was unveiled in May, it was greeted with gasps from many onlookers: The border was decorated with Stars of David, dollar signs, skull-and-crossbones symbols, and the phrase AFRICAN BLOOD.

To those concerned about the quality of life for Jewish students at San Francisco State, the incident came as no surprise: Local Jewish leaders had chronicled a number of disturbing activities on campus dating back to the mid-Eighties. In April 1992, for example, Palestinian students protested a Hillel gathering memorializing the Holocaust by distributing fliers equating Israeli treatment of Palestinians with Nazi treatment of Jews. And in 1993 student-association leader Hatem Bazian led a yearlong attack on "Zionist forces," accusing the school's Hillel chapter of spying on Palestinian students, like himself, for Israeli intelligence. At one point, Bazian and a band of twenty-five students stormed the offices of the school newspaper, the *Golden Gater*, after its editors refused to publish an unsubstantiated quote from a student claiming that he had been a campus spy for the Anti-Defamation League. "The mural was just one more chapter in an assault on Jewish students at San Francisco State," said Doug Kahn, director of San Francisco's Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC).

The JCRC, along with a handful of local Jewish agencies, played a key role in the creation of the school's Jewish studies program; as a result of cuts in state support for education in California, the administration had approved the launch of the program only on the condition that its entire annual budget of some $100,000 eventually be covered by community dollars. Naturally, the prospective donors had their hopes for the program—in particular, that it would provide a dose of pride to the school's embattled Jewish student body. As Kahn puts it, "For those of us who had seen this recurring pattern of anti-Semitism, the decision to start a program of Jewish studies meant the potential leveling of the playing field." This attitude, admirable though it may seem, generated tensions almost immediately once Eilberg-Schwartz was chosen to lead the fledgling program. Community leaders suggested that, at least in public, Eilberg-Schwartz emphasize the distinctiveness of Jewish traditions—an approach that ran counter to the professor's scholarly instincts. "Whenever I was in a situation where I was expected to make a case that Judaism was unique, everything in me wanted to resist that

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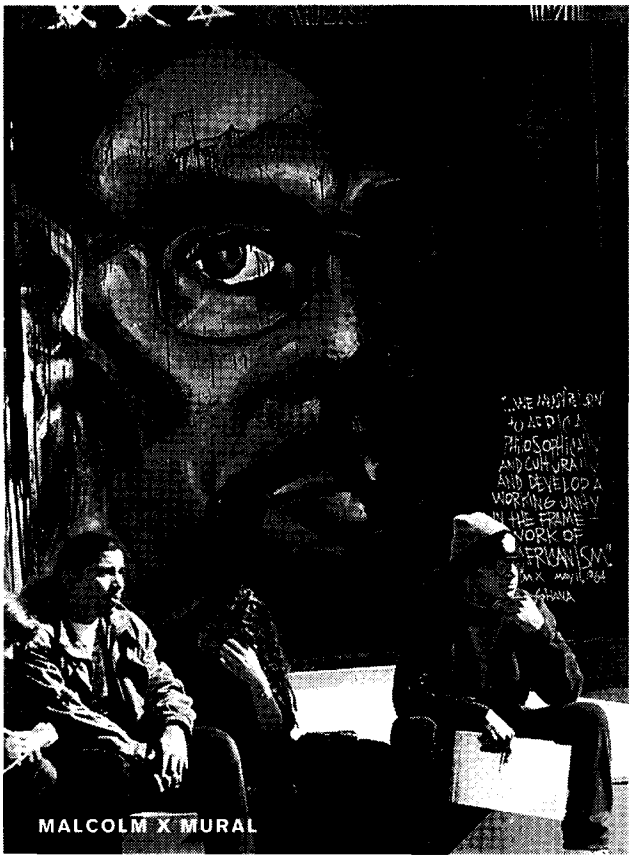
impulse," he says. "I wanted to understand Judaism in a larger context and identify Judaism with broader impulses. The whole thrust of my scholarship was that you can't say Judaism is unique."

AT THE TIME of his appointment, Eilberg-Schwartz was already known as an enfant terrible in mainstream Jewish circles. Starting with his early graduate work at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Eilberg-Schwartz had chosen to study Judaism through the lens of an anthropologist, removing the Scriptures from their sacred contexts and placing them in cultural ones. For his senior sermon, a public address that all graduating seniors are required to give, he subjected to anthropological scrutiny the Jewish taboo against physical contact with menstruating women. One of his professors insisted that he change his topic, or fail out of rabbinical school. Eilberg-Schwartz stood his ground. They eventually reached a compromise: The subject was okay, but the word "semen" had to be deleted. Eilberg-Schwartz was ordained.

In his first major book, *The Savage in Judaism* (Indiana, 1990), Eilberg-Schwartz—with a lengthy nod to Claude Lévi-Strauss's *The Savage Mind*—set out to undermine the distinctions that had been drawn between Judaism and the "savage" religions of primitive societies. His next book, *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* (Beacon, 1994), was deemed even more controversial, with its suggestion that Jews infuse their relationship with God with sexuality and eroticism in order to reenergize their religious lives. For years, feminist scholars had been examining the problems that worshiping a male God creates for women, but Eilberg-Schwartz broke new ground by exploring the dilemmas that God's gender poses for *men*. In *God's Phallus*, he went so far as to challenge the very foundations of ancient Judaism, calling the religion's various myths and rituals part of an effort to "suppress the homoerotic impulse implicit in the male relationship with God." The book, which Eilberg-Schwartz wrote on a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation, sparked a heated debate among his colleagues at Stanford, where he was denied tenure in the spring of 1994.


MALCOLM X MURAL

Despite that setback, Eilberg-Schwartz continued to pen provocative scholarship—even writing an essay condemning circumcision in *Tikkun* magazine. In that piece he argued that the act of cutting the male foreskin makes "male wounding" central to the covenant between man and God—a covenant that he believes would be more constructively symbolized by a "nurturing act," such as feeding. "His work has a combative quality vis-à-vis conventional opinion," offers David Biale, director of Jewish studies at Berkeley's Graduate Theological Union. "It's no surprise that a person who takes those kinds of views might find himself in an untenable situation when he has to defend the Jewish community."

YET paradoxically, an unconventional scholar like Eilberg-Schwartz stood the best chance of narrowing the widening gulf between San Francisco State's wounded Jewish population and its Palestinian and African-American students. After all, a more conservative figure might have galvanized Jewish students but only further polarized the campus. It was that realization, coupled with his reputation as a leading scholar, that made Eilberg-Schwartz seem an ideal candidate to the embattled university. "We were all very enthusiastic about him," remembers Mary Felstiner, a member of the hiring committee that tapped Eilberg-Schwartz to construct a small interdisciplinary program featuring innovative courses such as "Postmodernism and the Jewish Tradition" and "Jewish Women." "I thought he was daring and very personable," notes Felstiner, who says she was particularly excited about Eilberg-Schwartz's arrival because she shared his interest in making feminism and gender studies more central to the school's curriculum. "I saw Howie as a very helpful influence for starting us out with a really venturesome program."

Though he had misgivings about San Francisco State, and about academia in general after his tenure troubles at Stanford, Eilberg-Schwartz, too, had high hopes. "My politics seemed to dovetail with the campus

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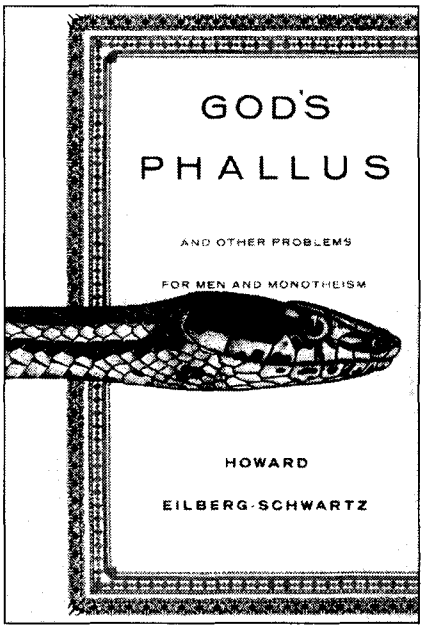
politics," he says. "I saw myself as a bridge builder."

That's certainly how things began. One of his first moves as program chair was to organize a joint Jewish studies–Black studies symposium attacking *The Bell Curve.* The colloquium, which drew a crowd of five hundred students, won Eilberg-Schwartz numerous admirers in the school's African-American community and seemed to bode well for his plans for racial reconciliation.

Finding common ground between the school's Jewish and Palestinian populations, however, proved decidedly more challenging. Many of Eilberg-Schwartz's forays into this area were viewed with suspicion by local Jewish leaders and activists, who felt he was only legitimizing anti-Semitic viewpoints that were cleverly couched in political statements about Israel's right to exist. In an editorial in the campus newspaper, Eilberg-Schwartz argued that "Jews have a right to a state they can depend upon to care about Jews," and then went on to say that "I am among the first to criticize the Israeli government's policies toward Palestinians." For some conservative critics, this sounded like a rhetorical cave-in—or at the very least, an ill-advised move at a school where an outspoken candidate for student-body president, Troy Buckner-Nkrumah, had taken to making statements like "the only good Zionist is a dead Zionist." These same critics took Eilberg-Schwartz to task for refusing to co-sponsor a performance of *Naomi,* an Israeli play about a Bedouin woman who leaves her tribe to avoid circumcision and winds up at an Israeli university.

Things came to a head in the spring, after Eilberg-Schwartz invited Hatem Bazian, the controversial former student-body president, to speak to his class in modern Judaism. (Bazian had moved on by then to graduate school in Near Eastern studies at UC-Berkeley.) At the lecture, Bazian adopted a more moderate tone than in his undergraduate years: In front of an audience of twenty-five students, he related his version of the history of the Palestinian people—who they are and how they came to be displaced by the creation of the state of Israel. The



politically charged message of Bazian's presentation notwithstanding, Eilberg-Schwartz remembers his guest speaker as restrained. "It was a very calm, smooth narrative," he recalls, noting that many of the students present had never before heard the Palestinian perspective on the Israeli conflict. "He wasn't provocative, as he purportedly can be."

But to Eilberg-Schwartz's critics, the issue wasn't what Bazian had said; it was the very fact that Eilberg-Schwartz had ignored the advice of several of his colleagues and opted to give Bazian a platform. "This was a person who was identified as an extreme anti-Semite," says Marvin Silverman, a professor of education at San Francisco State. Silverman, who served as chairman of the search committee that hired Eilberg-Schwartz, adds: "There were a number of people who thought it was a mistake, but he went ahead and did it anyway." (Outside the classroom, Bazian continued to infuriate local Jewish leaders. Last March, he participated in a rally at Berkeley in which demonstrators dressed in military garb and stomped on an Israeli flag. The rally took place weeks after the Hamas suicide bombings in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.)

This frustration with Eilberg-Schwartz was shared by the JCRC's Kahn. "Hatem Bazian was more responsible than any other student on campus for trying to make life miserable for Jewish students," he adds. "To give him that kind of status, when he had consistently verbally attacked Jewish students on campus, seemed to us an ill-advised move."

Other Jewish leaders argued that opening lines of communication, even with figures like Bazian, was part of the process of rapprochement—a process that the Jewish community was not genuinely interested in. "Howie was doing wonderful work, which I observed up close, at creating contact and dialogue between Jews and other groups on campus, including feminists, blacks, Palestinians, and gays and lesbians," says Daniel Boyarin, a professor of Talmudic culture at Berkeley. "Various people in the surrounding Jewish community, as well as Jewish students, weren't interested in the complex, painful business of reaching across the lines and talking to enemies."

Only weeks after the Hatem Bazian incident, Eilberg-Schwartz tried to mend some fences. "I had got a lot of heat over this and I was worried that the program was in danger financially," he says. In March 1995, Eilberg-Schwartz convened a closed-door meeting with a handful of local Jewish community leaders and San Francisco State faculty members. In an attempt to show that his own perspective was within acceptable bounds, academically speaking, he invited David Biale and Steven Zipperstein, the directors of Jewish studies at the Graduate Theological Union and at Stanford,

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respectively, to the meeting. Both rallied to his defense. Biale wrote off the Bazian invitation as an error committed out of naïveté, not malicious intent, and emphasized that the politics of Israel were not relevant to Eilberg-Schwartz's principal area of expertise—namely, defining the Jewish place in a multicultural society.

But several community leaders, including Doug Kahn, were less forgiving. They chided Eilberg-Schwartz for agreeing, in a discussion on the quad with a group of Palestinian students, that Zionism should be viewed within the context of Western imperialism. To them, the Bazian flap was representative of Eilberg-Schwartz's more general insensitivity to the tense atmosphere on campus. Because negative feelings toward the Jewish community were so prevalent on campus, they argued, it was the director's responsibility to try to balance things out. Still, his critics insist that they never violated his academic freedom or censored his political views; they were simply raising questions about his judgment. "Eilberg-Schwartz's sin was not in espousing radical positions," Marvin Silverman explains. "His sin was in showing extremely poor judgment in how he intertwined those positions and his professional duties as head of the program."

As for Eilberg-Schwartz, he responded that he felt he was being unfairly asked to enact "Jewishness" in a specific way, a problem that some consider dangerously widespread in Jewish studies programs, which are often built around endowed chairs set up by individual donors. "To the extent that the Jewish establishment sees the Jewish studies professoriat as an academic arm of their political activity, they are ultimately going to destroy Jewish studies as a viable source for Jewish renewal," warns Daniel Boyarin, a staunch anti-Zionist who maintains that subversive scholarship can play an important role in revitalizing Jewish life.

In fact, San Francisco State isn't the first school to experience this type of turmoil. Lawrence Baron, director of the Lipinsky Institute for Judaic Studies at San Diego State University, got himself into hot water when he assumed control of that program back in 1988. "There's an expectation when these programs get created.... I'm not sure universities always do their best to tell people up front that these are academic, not advocacy, programs," says Baron, who was roundly criticized for bringing a Christian scholar to campus to lecture on the Jewishness of Jesus. "It's those kinds of things that get you in trouble, and you just have to weather it."

BUT Eilberg-Schwartz chose not to weather it. When a local community leader, Ernest Weiner of the American Jewish Committee, asked him point-blank at the March meeting if he felt that the state of Israel should exist, Eilberg-Schwartz decided that it was time to pack it in. "It was clear that my political views were an issue in support for the program," offers

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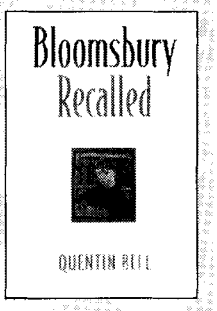

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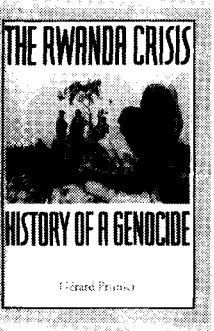

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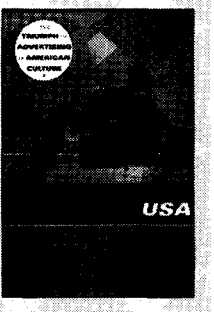

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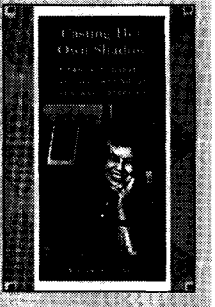

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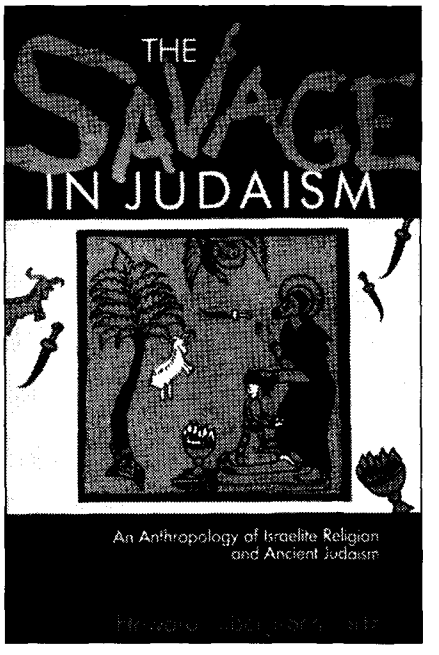
Eilberg-Schwartz, who says that his job "no longer felt like an academic position." But he didn't announce his decision to leave at the meeting. Rather, he quietly began looking for another job—without notifying San Francisco State's administration. Only after the summer, in October, did he give notice. He would continue teaching his classes for the remainder of the semester, he said, but was dropping all of his administrative duties, effective in two weeks.

Eilberg-Schwartz's hasty departure from San Francisco State threw the school's nascent Jewish studies program into a state of chaos. Colleagues say that he offered the school no help in dealing with the transition and did not even return phone calls from fellow faculty members. Eilberg-Schwartz disputes this charge, countering that he drafted a state-of-the-program report and did everything in his power to smooth the transition. In any case, professors who had strongly defended his right to express controversial positions now turned against him. "I was furious at the way he left," says Felstiner.



So what happened? As Eilberg-Schwartz sees it, his growing ambivalence about his own Jewishness simply crystallized—albeit quickly—at San Francisco State. Or, in the words of David Biale, "his exploration just self-destructed. In a sense, Howie and others like him use Jewish studies as a way of interrogating their own identities. We—I can include myself in this—don't do disinterested scholarship."

In the beginning, Eilberg Schwartz's study of Judaism grew out of his desire to make sense of the religion that he has labeled "this alien thing that is my inheritance." Yet ironically, his attempts to decode the meaning of religious practices only further alienated him from that inheritance. "I was moving away from the community," he recalls. "Traditional forms of Jewish identity no longer made sense to me. I found the Jewish community too ethnocentric, too focused on its own victimization." This feeling of disenchantment, which Eilberg-Schwartz attributes in large part to what he perceives as the community's narrow vision of Judaism and Jewish scholarship, has stuck with him; he says he no longer belongs to a synagogue or contributes to Jewish charities.

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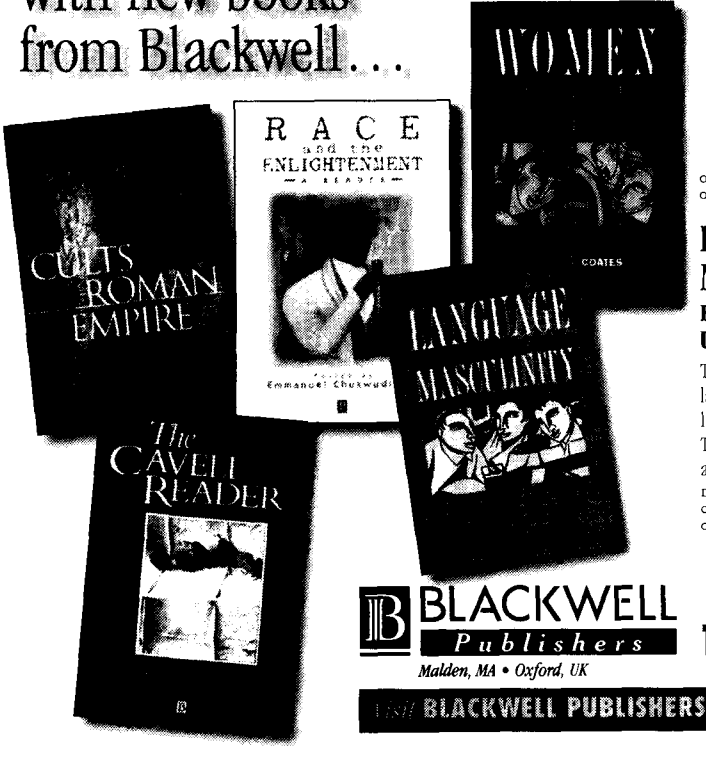

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technical manuals for a computer software company in Silicon Valley. "I kind of view myself as a renegade rabbi," he says with a chuckle.

Yet while Eilberg-Schwartz may have made an emphatic break with the world of academia and the Jewish community for the time being, his place in the field of Jewish studies seems assured, at least at the moment. "His stock is high in the scholarly field right now," says Shaye Cohen, a professor of Judaic studies at Brown University.

Indeed, Eilberg-Schwartz's approach to studying Talmudic texts and rituals is emerging as a popular method of inquiry in Jewish studies. Examining how the body serves as the site for the symbolic language of Judaism, tracing how rituals become the basis for Jewish culture, understanding how these rituals inform social relations—these lines of scholarly attack, once considered anathema to students of the Bible, are now being embraced. According to Sander Gilman, a professor of German and Jewish studies at the University of Chicago, Eilberg-Schwartz is an avant-garde—not fringe—scholar. "My sense is that Eilberg-Schwartz got caught in a paradigm shift in terms of what is acceptable and unacceptable when you start to constitute a new field," Gilman says.

As for Jewish studies at San Francisco State, the program appears to have withstood the crisis precipitated by Eilberg-Schwartz's unexpected resignation. A new director, Laurie Zoloth-Dorfman, has been appointed (although without tenure). An Orthodox Jewish feminist with a long history of Jewish activism—not to mention impeccable Zionist credentials—Zoloth-Dorfman fits in more snugly with the San Francisco State environment. Moreover, she does not begrudge the community its desire for a voice in the direction of the program. "The role of chair sometimes involves a significant community relational component," Zoloth-Dorfman allows. "While open to all, scholarship has a responsibility to the community." She preaches a "scholarship of engagement," in which academics do their best to tailor their programs and research to the needs of their local environment.

This past fall, Zoloth-Dorfman and an African-American journalism professor taught a course in Black–Jewish relations. During the semester, they brought to campus spokesmen from the Nation of Islam, representatives from the Anti-Defamation League, and Avi Weiss, a right-wing Orthodox rabbi from Manhattan. Clearly, Eilberg-Schwartz's activism hasn't been entirely forgotten. But there are differences. The walls of the Jewish studies office, bare during Eilberg-Schwartz's tour of duty, are now adorned with objects, including a kitschy clock with Hebrew numerals and a placard proclaiming the innocence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. In fact, the only physical reminder of the program's recent troubles is a cardboard box shoved up against the back wall. The box overflows with manila folders, and scrawled across its side is the label: HOWARD'S THINGS.

Jonathan Mahler is the managing editor of the *Forward* newspaper in New York.

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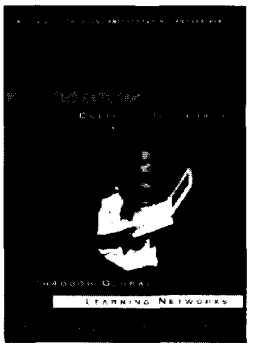

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WHY WE CAN'T CLOSE THE BOOK ON ALLAN BLOOM

BY **JAMES MILLER**

EXACTLY TEN YEARS AGO, IN THE spring of 1987, Allan Bloom realized a gadfly's dream: Creating a commotion, he grabbed attention, roused concern, and stung the target of his criticism. The provocation came in the form of a long-winded book with a punchy title: *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students.* Adding insult to injury, at least in the eyes of every high-minded educator who took pride in enriching souls and serving our democracy, Bloom's book went on to sell more than one million copies.

In many ways, Bloom's book was all too easy to dismiss. Cranky and colorful, often exaggerated, rarely dull, Bloom's diatribe was peppered with alarming, and often patently false, proclamations. Feminists were terrorists. Relativism was destroying America's moral fabric. Rock and roll was producing cultural rot. Even more damaging in the eyes of a number of academic specialists was a huge array of questionable propositions. Bloom didn't fully appreciate the argument for women's equality put forth in Plato's *Republic.* He travestied Margaret Mead. He got Hobbes wrong. And so forth.

These scholarly misgivings—a great many of which were perfectly reasonable—soon eased the way for Bloom's political enemies to dismiss his book *tout court.* Michael Bérubé, often regarded as one of the more astute writers on the left, sneered that *The Closing of the American Mind* had been "spawned by the dual-exhaust inspiration of Saul Bellow's encouragement and the Institute for Educational Affairs' cash." Ad hominem arguments like this enabled critics to lump Bloom with William Bennett and Dinesh D'Souza, and treat him as just another right-wing hit man.

That response, however, was unfortunate and shortsighted. For while Bloom was certainly a partisan and a sharp polemicist, he was no ideological hack. Though some of his sharpest critics to this day seem unaware of the fact, his book contains a serious argument that requires a serious response—not a snide putdown. At the heart of this argument is a view, perhaps utopian and certainly paradoxical, of the role that higher education ought to play in a democracy. A plea for an arduous regime of open-ended Socratic questioning, Bloom's book makes the case for the value of a general education and argues against specialized erudition. It is also a brief for maintaining the highest intellectual standards—precisely as a counterweight to what Tocqueville called "the tyranny of the majority."

ALLAN Bloom died in 1992, but his work has not been forgotten. And the easiest way to confirm this is to consider the sheer range of recent books that pick up his gauntlet: They include *The University in Ruins,* by the late Bill Readings, a professor of comparative literature at the University of Montreal who shared Bloom's discontent but not his diagnosis; *We Scholars,* by David Damrosch, who teaches English and comparative literature at Columbia and expresses a guarded sympathy for some of Bloom's arguments; and, last but not least, *The Opening of the American Mind,* by Lawrence Levine, which—as the title indicates—is a root-and-branch attack on Allan Bloom and everything he stands for. Scholars have duly welcomed Levine's book as the definitive response to Bloom that they've long awaited.

Levine is an accomplished cultural historian. A MacArthur Prize recipient currently teaching at George Mason University, he has won renown within the academy by writing two important books, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (Oxford, 1977), and *High-Brow/Low-Brow* (Harvard, 1988), that examine the ways in which Americans have tried to draw, and redraw, the lines between elite and "minority" cultures—a process of hierarchical discrimination that Bloom, for one, heartily endorses. As Levine has remarked in interviews, it was his basic disagreement with Bloom's narrow and ahistorical notion of "high" culture that provoked his new book.

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> ***The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History,* by Lawrence W. Levine (Beacon Press, 1996)**
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> ***We Scholars: Changing the Culture of the University,* by David Damrosch (Harvard University Press, 1995)**
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> ***The University in Ruins,* by Bill Readings (Harvard University Press, 1996)**
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> ***The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students,* by Allan Bloom (Simon and Schuster, 1987)**

If nothing else, *The Opening of the American Mind* provides a compact survey of higher education in America and how it has evolved. In the beginning, as Levine reminds us, elite institutions like Harvard and Yale were suffused with a religious ethos. The curriculum, built around the study of Latin, Greek, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, and logic, barely acknowledged a great many subjects that even Allan Bloom, one imagines, would agree are important: modern languages, modern literature, modern history (where "modern" means anything that has happened since the sack of Rome).

If any one date marked the beginning of the end for the classical curriculum, it was the inauguration of Charles William Eliot as president of Harvard, in 1869. Under Eliot's leadership, Harvard introduced the elective system, in which students were allowed to pick their own courses. In a renowned 1885 debate with the president of Princeton, Eliot fatefully declared that the university "must try to teach every subject...for which there is any demand." In effect, administrators ever since have been tempted to regulate the supply of their schools' courses according to the principles of the modern marketplace. Giving students what they want is an idea that long predates the Sixties.

Still, some educators were unhappy with the fragmentation of learning created by the new system. In the 1930s, Robert Maynard Hutchins launched a bold new experiment in general education at the University of Chicago. Building on Columbia's "Great Books" courses but abandoning that approach's original overtones of World War I–era jingoism, Hutchins introduced a new, frankly cosmopolitan stress on logic and philosophy. An avowed Aristotelian, he hoped to offer students a unified framework for inquiry organized around some basic but unfashionable questions: What can I know? What ought I to do? What may I hope? How should I live? Acknowledging the strangeness of these questions in modern-day America, Hutchins urged educators to cut against the grain of contemporary society, creating a thirst for freedom of thought by deliberately, and paradoxically, limiting freedom of choice. "The people love money and think education is a way of getting it," Hutchins wrote in 1936. "They think too that democracy means that every child should be permitted to acquire the educational insignia that will be helpful in making money. They do not believe in the cultivation of the intellect for its own sake."

Levine dislikes Hutchins. He ridicules the stiff syllogisms that spoiled his prose. And, more pointedly, he implies that the man was a thinly veiled enemy of democratic values: "Again and again it becomes clear in Hutchins's work that his primary nemesis was less the system of higher education than the essential nature of American society and culture."

This "essential nature" Levine himself describes in terms "of dynamism, of change, of interaction" among a welter of equally valid and vital subcultures. With unabashed enthusiasm, he endorses multiculturalism, at least as a program for historical research, explaining that "to understand American culture it is not enough to understand only one of its components, no matter how important it may have been." He applauds the dramatic loosening of requirements that occurred in the Sixties, citing with evident approval a 1968 report on higher education at Stanford: "It is impossible to choose what exactly it is that every student should know without imposing arbitrary constraints on the range of free inquiry."

And he ends on a note of upbeat affirmation, enthusiastically endorsing the main drift in American higher education toward more and more electives. "The historical pattern of American higher education," he concludes, "has been toward increasing openness, greater inclusiveness, expanded choice, the study of the modern as well as the ancient, a concentration on American, African, and Asian as well as European culture." In Levine's eyes, in short, the American university, having progressively freed itself from the misguided experiments of Hutchins, has at last achieved its proper telos by realizing an "essential nature" that exists in happy harmony with the values and aims of the outside world. America has always been a country of openness, change, and diversity; now the universities honor those values as well.

In this telling of the tale, the contemporary academy faces no serious challenge—least of all from an out-of-date killjoy like Allan Bloom. Of course, Levine concedes that there is room for improvement. Professors should work harder to minimize jargon, they should reach out to colleagues in other fields, they should "ensure that teaching ability is considered seriously in all faculty personnel decisions." Still, implementing such changes requires only minor modifications of the existing system. And that, says Levine, is the problem with a critic like Bloom: His charges against the university are so "hyperbolic," so lamentably "one-sided" that he can find "almost nothing positive to say."

What an odd and telling lament! Professor Bloom is, as it were, a nattering nabob of negativism. And Levine, one fears, has turned himself into Dr. Pangloss. "Those who oppose current developments in higher education," he solemnly concludes, "denigrate the most heartening growth of sensitivity to and awareness of human differences and

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vulnerabilities our universities and indeed our nation have ever experienced."

SOME YEARS ago, the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre, in an essay on the endless debate over relativism, quipped that "nothing is perhaps a surer sign that a doctrine embodies some not-to-be-neglected truth than that...it should have been refuted again and again."

I could not help but recall MacIntyre's remark while reflecting on Levine's efforts to refute Bloom. Though his book has already been praised in some quarters as a definitive rejoinder to Bloom, *The Opening of the American Mind* hit me quite differently. Levine's tone of sovereign complacency filled me with a churlish desire to contradict and dispute. Strangest of all, I found myself doing something that I, like most avowedly left-wing academics I know, have long resisted doing: I sat down and actually read Allan Bloom's notorious book.

This is no simple task. In publishing circles, it was widely assumed, with some reason, that Bloom's book must have been bought largely for purposes of cultural vanity—for display, not reading. Nearly four hundred pages long, the book makes little effort to be likable. It is not easy to digest. As Saul Bellow, one of the author's dearest friends, delicately puts it in his preface to *The Closing of the American Mind*, "Professor Bloom has his own way of doing things." It is not clear that even his conservative admirers have read his work closely.

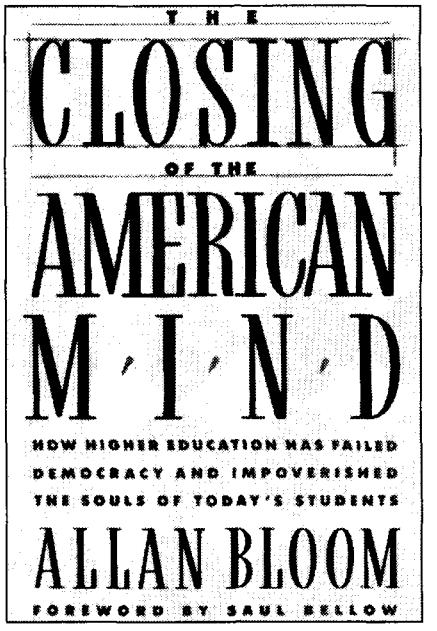
A fantastic species of intellectual, of a type to be found in America and nowhere else, Bloom's writerly persona suggests an improbable cross between the stiff seriousness of his mentor Leo Strauss and the deadpan humor of Woody Allen (an authority on the state of the American soul whom Bloom is unafraid to cite more frequently than John Rawls). Though he parades his intimacy with high culture in an irritatingly offhand way, dropping big names like Plato and Kant at a breathless clip, Bloom avoids the conventional furniture of academic discourse. There are virtually no footnotes. There are no professions of false modesty, no expressions of thanks to other specialists—no visible signs, in short, of humility.

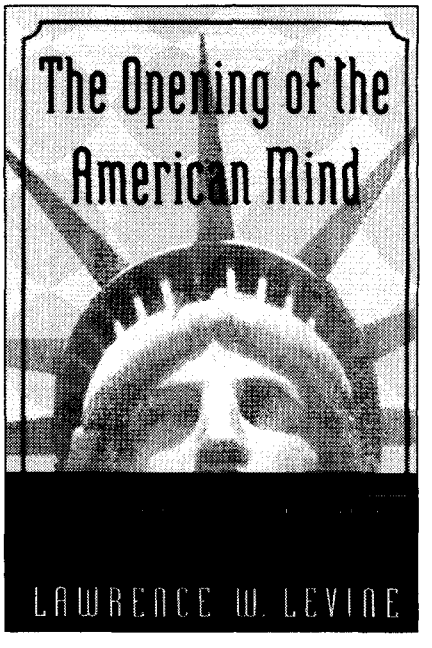
Instead, there are passages like this: "Erich Fromm's *Escape From Freedom* is just Dale Carnegie with a bit of middle-European cultural whipped cream on top. Get rid of capitalist alienation and Puritan repression, and all will be well as each man chooses for himself.... We have here the peculiarly American way of digesting Continental despair. It is nihilism with a happy ending."

This passage illustrates Bloom's larger thesis about America—one that critics like Levine choose to ignore. The thesis is that modern Continental thought, amalgamated in this century with the native optimism of can-do American democrats, has generated an incoherent simulacrum of intellectual openness, built around a non sequitur: Nothing is true. Everything is permitted. Let's all be tolerant!

To establish his case, Bloom looks closely at the way in which Nietzsche's disturbing thoughts about value relativism were developed (and defanged) by American social science, largely through the influence of Max Weber on sociologists like Talcott Parsons. By using Nietzsche's term "value" instead of the traditional moral terminology of good and evil, Weber had flagged his own conviction that there was no rational way to resolve disputes between rival systems of moral and religious belief: "The individual has to decide which is God for him and which is the devil." Like most Continental thinkers driven to this conclusion, Weber recoiled from his own vision, fearful of its implications. Unhappy with the "workaday existence" required in a modern industrial society, he was drawn to, but scared by, charismatic figures who preached the creation of new social orders—fascism and communism were already on the European horizon.

"There is no doubt," writes Bloom, accurately enough, "that value relativism, if it is true and it is believed in, takes one into very dark regions of the soul and very dangerous political experiments. But on enchanted American ground the tragic sense has little place, and the early proponents of





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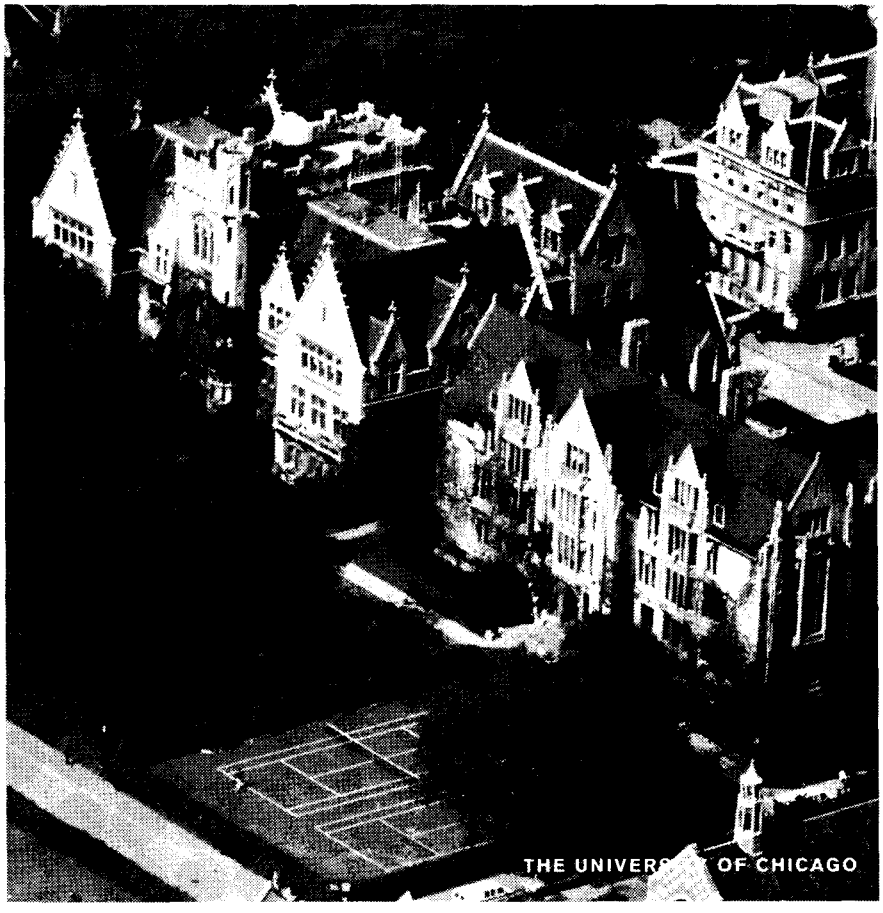

the new social science gaily accepted the value insight, sure that their values were just fine"—and certain that the purpose of sociology was to facilitate the smooth functioning of industrial society. What Weber experienced as a tragic conflict between incommensurable types (the bureaucrat and the prophet) reappears in America (and a sociologist like Parsons) as welcome evidence of diversity and healthy-minded differences: "I'm OK, you're OK."

This is a large claim that is hard to document. The bookish manner in which Bloom elaborates his thesis betrays the limited range of his experience as a university professor. Still, it is easy to sense that Bloom is onto some recognizable aspects of everyday American life. Early in his book, Bloom distinguishes two kinds of openness. The familiar version of openness, in its affirmation of a bland pluralism sensitive to the vulnerabilities of previously marginalized social groups and cultural forms, threatens to produce indifference—much like the individual who responds to every difference of opinion with a shrug, "Well, it's a free country...." By erecting an Epcot Center for the mind, the kinder, gentler multiculturalist runs the risk of making the world look puny and small, too good to be true, too purged of unpleasant aspects to be interesting.

But there is a less familiar and more disquieting kind of openness that Bloom ardently wishes to defend. As he defines it, this is the sort of openness "that invites us to the quest for knowledge and certitude, for which history and the various cultures provide a brilliant array of examples for examination." The point is not simply to have a variety of experiences; it is rather to refine one's capacity to judge this variety of experiences, and so acquire the ability to live "the examined life." Unafraid to look the world in the eye, unwilling to evade evidence of mendacity and evil wherever it may appear, this kind of open mind knows only piety for the truth—no matter how dark or disturbing.

In one of the most moving passages in his book, Bloom expresses gratitude for having his own mind opened up (as he understands the process) at Robert Hutchins's University of Chicago. He recalls seeing the fake-Gothic buildings on the campus for the first time and remembers thinking that here was the place where he would find his true life: "I had never before seen, or at least had not noticed, buildings that were evidently dedicated to a higher purpose, not to necessity or utility, not merely to shelter or manufacture or trade, but to something that might be an end in itself." What such an end might consist of Bloom first found in the pages of the Great Books. That is why he wishes that every student could feel similarly challenged, and precisely by writers like Plato and Shakespeare (both of whom Bloom has written about). As Bloom puts it, the Great Books offer "examples of a sort not likely to be seen around one," particularly growing up in a commercial republic leery of intellectual distinction. They also supply something Tocqueville thought especially pertinent in a democracy: the setting of distant goals, requiring harsh effort of a sort that cuts against the prevailing softness of egalitarian mores.

This, of course, means that Bloom, like Tocqueville, defends a species of elitism. He thinks it wise to acknowledge rather than deny the range of intellectual aptitudes. And he thinks those of uncommon intelligence should be taught to feel pride, not shame in the power of their minds. This argument resembles the argument made by Robert Hutchins for the value of a demanding core curriculum rooted in unfashionable philosophical questions. But it is also, oddly enough—and despite the various anathemas that Bloom is wont to proclaim against the academy's partisans of openness and "difference"—an argument for higher education as an open-ended conversation among those who have learned how to think differently about matters of general concern.

Like Emerson, one of his unavowed American precursors, Bloom assumes that the virtue in greatest demand in our society is conformity. The demand for consent in a democracy risks undoing the kind of independence that a democracy, at its best, can uniquely

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foster and protect—but only if the spirit of self-reliance is properly nourished.

This view will be familiar to anyone who has read Tocqueville or John Stuart Mill. Of course, one may think their worries about like-mindedness ill-founded—that certainly seems to be the opinion of Lawrence Levine, who scoffs at anyone who impugns the decency and intelligence of ordinary people or questions the value of what they are encouraged to esteem by the prevailing culture.

Bloom, by contrast, passionately defends an ideal of the university as an oasis of nonconformity deliberately at odds with the outside world. "There is one simple rule for the university's activity," he declares, "it need not concern itself with providing its students with experiences that are available in democratic society."

Teachers would do better by "opposing the emergent, the changing and the ephemeral," by "having intransigently high standards," and by "concentrating on the heroic." They should help students understand "the problem of the whole" and resist the temptation to teach only their special expertise. His ambition is frankly Socratic: Bloom requires of a true liberal education "that the student's whole life be radically changed by it, that what he learns may affect his actions, his tastes, his choices, that no previous attachment be immune to examination and hence re-evaluation."

OF COURSE, it is unlikely that any university anywhere has ever given anyone a "true liberal education" in just these terms. (And Socrates, it is worth recalling, never taught in a university.)

Still, however much one may disagree—as I do—with Bloom's fairly narrow conception of what kinds of works and cultural forms repay critical examination, his book, precisely because of its air of sadness and its edge of anger suffused with utopian longing, is a stinging brief for intellectual perfectionism. Even more boldly, it is a brief for perfectionism as a goal worthy of a properly democratic higher education—above all in a society like our own that is otherwise regulated primarily by the values of the marketplace.

Is Bloom entirely mistaken? I think not.

It is striking how many of the academic responses to Bloom's book have either missed or chosen to ignore his essential point about the proper purpose of education. One reason, surely, quite apart from Bloom's deliberately inflammatory rhetoric, is

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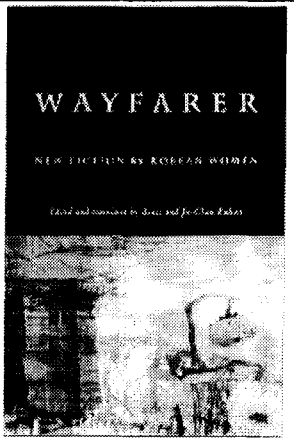

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the difficulty of imagining just how a Socratic ambition might come to play a more salient role in the modern American university. David Damrosch, on the other hand, highlights this aspect of Bloom's argument, and takes it very seriously indeed.

Like Bloom, though in a genial tone of sweet reason, Damrosch in *We Scholars* disputes the idea that a university should mirror the world outside. Letting freedom of choice govern the curriculum risks turning the university into "a mere supermarket of ideas." Of course, as Damrosch acknowledges, one may wish to offer electives in computer programming, since many students will find this more useful in later life than learning Greek or Latin. Still, as he adds with characteristic understatement, "if we are uncomfortably aware that ours is a society of mall-strolling consumers with short attention spans, we would prefer that the university not reflect this particular fact about ourselves." That is why Damrosch is sympathetic to the idea of a core curriculum and impatient with battles over what will constitute the core: "Debates over particular inclusions or exclusions often amount to little more than the replacement of a few deck chairs as general education continues slowly, majestically, to sink out of sight."

Given his support for general education, it is perhaps not surprising that Damrosch is able to appreciate not only Bloom's book, but also his status as a representative of a dying breed: the generalist who subordinates scholarship to the craft of teaching. But while he acknowledges the nobility of Bloom's example, he also expresses a deep ambivalence about it.

He wonders whether the generalist has a place anymore in the modern university. "It is all very well to decry the narrowness of specialization," he writes, "but anyone who has once felt the excitement of clarifying and deepening scholarly debate is likely to be reluctant to give up that quest and will feel vaguely, or acutely, dishonest in making ill-founded pronouncements on unfamiliar material, even for an audience of sympathetic sophomores."

This observation, doubtless true so far as it goes, leads Damrosch to

WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT

qualify his defense of the core curriculum. Allan Bloom may have been able to write well about Plato, Shakespeare, and Rousseau. But no one person is competent to range freely over all the topics of a core curriculum. Therefore, abolishing specialization is out of the question. Damrosch argues instead that efforts should be made to supplement the existing structure of departments by creating a "culture of cooperation" within the university. To this end, he suggests introducing new networks for the exchange of papers before publication, new occasions for faculty interaction, new incentives for team-teaching. He thinks a community of specialists, intensively collaborating, might help breathe fresh life into the old ideals of general education.

As is so often the case with such books, the diagnosis offered by Damrosch seems more plausible than the specific remedy he proposes. But then, any institutional remedy, given the number and difficulty of the problems confronting the modern research university, may be impossible to realize. This, at least, is Bill Readings's argument in *The University in Ruins,* a book that is deeply indebted to the French theorist of postmodernism Jean-François Lyotard. Readings—who died in a plane crash at age thirty-four, shortly after completing the manuscript—portrays a postmodern academy that has lost its sense of purpose and become merely a hollow imitation of itself.

Despite his impeccable credentials as a theorist of the academic left, Readings does not seriously disagree with Allan Bloom's gloomy picture of higher education. Suggesting that Bloom is "more in touch with reality" than most of his liberal critics, Readings argues that the current crisis in the university "proceeds from a fundamental shift in its social role and internal systems"—a shift that must doom all efforts to resurrect the old ideal of the liberal arts.

Casting his historical net more widely than Levine, Readings recounts the origins of this ideal in the German curriculum, widely copied, that Wilhelm von Humboldt instituted at the University of Berlin in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The university, as Humboldt understood it, was not only supposed to promote scientific inquiry, but also to build among its students a sense of integrated personal character. The challenge was to help students organize the multiplicity of known facts into a coherent whole. Central to Humboldt's curriculum, and unifying its sense of cultural mission, was an understanding of philosophy as the rigorous practice of critique. If educated properly, a student would not only become acquainted with the contents of various specialized fields of positive knowledge, but also learn "the formal art of the use of mental powers, the process of judgment."

It is, of course, something like this quintessentially philosophical ideal, which Emerson made his own in essays like "The American Scholar," that Hutchins tried to implement at the University of Chicago in the 1930s—and that Allan Bloom wished to resurrect in our own day.

Readings offers a sympathetic gloss on Humboldt's vision—but he regards it as hopelessly irrelevant, because impossible to put back into practice. For Humboldt, as for a number of the professors at Columbia after World War I, one important reason to promote a shared sense of moral character was to produce a shared sense of cultural identity among a rising generation of national leaders. The university was expected to reproduce a kind of collective cultural conscience for the nation-state.

But today, Readings argues, few people really believe anymore that we

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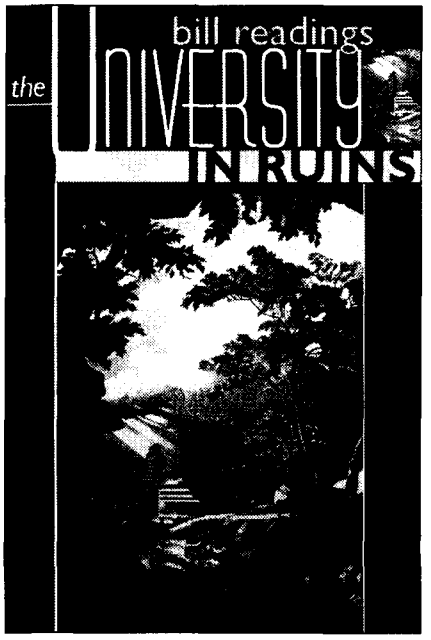
share a national culture that is worth reproducing. Weakened by globalization and technology, the institutions of the state are becoming obsolete. As Readings puts it, "the nation-state is a formation on its way to becoming as vestigial as the playing of drivers' national anthems in celebration of Grand Prix victories"—a strange analogy, given the orgies of national feeling that still accompany the World Cup and the Olympics.

Fortunately, this aspect of Readings's argument, which seems wildly overstated, does not vitiate his observations about the decline of confidence in the uses of schooling to reproduce a shared national identity, at least in North America. That, he thinks, is one reason why university administrators now tend to shy away from patriotic arguments for the value of higher education, instead speaking vaguely about "excellence," a notion that has general applicability, as Readings remarks, "in direct relation to its emptiness."

WHY IS excellence an empty ideal? Readings cites a passage from a publication of the Office of Research and University Graduate Studies at Indiana University: "Excellence of the proposed scholarship is the major criterion employed in the evaluation procedure." As he points out, treating "excellence" as if it were a self-evident common denominator of good research in all fields begs the question of what counts as "good" in each field—which in fact varies widely. Along with the proliferation of specialties comes a proliferation of different standards of judgment: Professional philosophers, for example, are often liable to find risible the work of colleagues in literary theory, who are nevertheless highly esteemed within their own discipline. The empty notion of "excellence" thus masks sharp disagreements over the value of different programs of research, particularly in the humanities and social sciences.

Yet for just this reason, Readings persuasively argues, the discourse of excellence fits remarkably well with the needs of both the university and modern American society: "It allows for the increasing integration of all activities into a generalized market," which judges those activities by whatever standards a particular buyer happens to apply. He adds: "Excellence is thus the integrating principle that allows 'diversity' (the other watchword of the University prospectus) to be tolerated without threatening the unity of the system." This may explain why a left-wing apostle of diversity like Michael Bérubé is so keen to defend "legitimate credentializing procedures" and "demanding peer review mechanisms"—after all, the radical in need of academic legitimacy can be reasonably confident that his peers, narrowly construed, will regard his program of research as "excellent."



"The University of Excellence," as Readings calls it, functions more like a multinational corporation than like Plato's Academy. By one estimate, the revenues of American universities currently amount to $175 billion a year, making them twice as big a business as the nation's airlines. Since nothing more important than money and the development of "human resources" seems to be at stake in the survival of the institution, most university administrators have proved perfectly willing to let their faculty teach every subject (in Charles William Eliot's words) "for which there is any demand." Virtually anything goes, so long as it satisfies a relevant constituency. If students want to study gender roles in the oeuvre of Madonna, let them, so long as they pay tuition to take such courses. If the Department of Defense wants to exploit the resources of a physics department to build a better missile, let them, so long as the government gives the school a lucrative grant. "Henceforth," argues Readings, "the question of the University is only the question of relative value-for-money, the question posed to a student who is situated entirely as a *consumer,* rather than as someone who wants to think."

And henceforth—as Readings adds, with acid accuracy—left-wing academics are fooling themselves if they fancy that their current ability to teach pretty much what they will is subverting the system. "Rather than posing a threat," he writes, "the analyses performed by Cultural Studies," for example, "risk providing new marketing opportunities for the system. Practices such as punk music and dress styles are offered their self-consciousness in academic essays, but the dignity they acquire is not that of authenticity but of *marketability,* be it in the cinema, on MTV, or as a site of tourist interest for visitors to London."

Unlike Lawrence Levine, Readings obviously does not believe that the university he describes represents the best of all possible worlds. Still, he is equally impatient with Allan Bloom's yearning for a lost utopia of learning. Instead, he tries to make a virtue out of necessity.

In the final chapters of *The University in Ruins,* Readings proposes that we create a new university of "Dissensus." Within the walls of this quarrelsome

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dream academy, teachers will teach, and enact, their intractable conflicts over what is worth teaching. The notion recalls a suggestion made several years ago by Gerald Graff in his book *Beyond the Culture Wars* (Norton). Graff argued that teachers should "teach the conflicts" over how to read classic works. But what Readings thinks desirable goes beyond anything in Graff's argument, which, after all, was largely aimed at negotiating disputes among professors of English. The problem that the University of Dissensus must face is deciding not just whether *Heart of Darkness* is a work of art or a piece of racist dreck, but whether the university is anything more than a supermarket of ideas. Since we professors can no longer agree about what the aim of education ought to be, Readings argues that we should at least find "ways to keep the question of evaluation open, a matter of dispute."

Readings's heart is surely in the right place. He hopes, in his argot, to "decenter our vision of the educational process, not merely adopt an oppositional stance in teaching. Only in this way can we open up pedagogy," maintaining "a network of obligations" between teachers and students "that keeps the question of meaning open as a locus of debate."

Still, the very abstraction of his language indicates the weakness of his proposal. As one British reviewer remarked, Readings's University of Dissensus sounds all too much like the old Monty Python sketch, "Is this the right room for an argument?" in which people are paid to argue for the sake of it. Moreover, Readings never explains how interminable arguments among professors are supposed to grab the imagination of students. If there is no conceivable way to discover who is right about what is worth knowing—never mind what is true, or beautiful, or just—then why bother?

"Best I can tell, it's a virus that deletes any document being drafted once it says 'commitment to excellence' more than twelve times."

TEN YEARS after the appearance of *The Closing of the American Mind,* the debate over higher education shows no signs of abating. Imagine trying to achieve consensus on this matter at a meeting of faculty that included the likes of Readings, Bloom, Damrosch, and Levine, and you have some idea of the problem. Given the intractability of the disagreements, it is unlikely that there will be any quick or general reform of higher education.

Still, the situation is not completely hopeless. About one thing Bill Readings seems to me demonstrably wrong. No matter the currents at play in the larger society, the old aim of Socratic critique—of a liberation, through enlightenment, of the spirit—is never impossible (however improbable). Of course, there is a host of pressing institutional problems that only a fool would ignore: Students are sinking ever deeper into debt, the government continues to slash its funding for higher education, the curriculum in most places remains an incoherent jumble, and so on.

The Socratic ambition can nevertheless be pursued in almost any setting. All it takes is a skilled teacher, an eager student, and a readiness to work together. It shouldn't be impossible to have something like this model of teaching as one's goal—even in Allan Bloom's all-too-worldly America or in Bill Readings's ghostlike University of Excellence.

James Miller is the director of liberal studies at the New School. He is the author most recently of *The Passion of Michel Foucault* (Simon & Schuster).

MARK LITZLER

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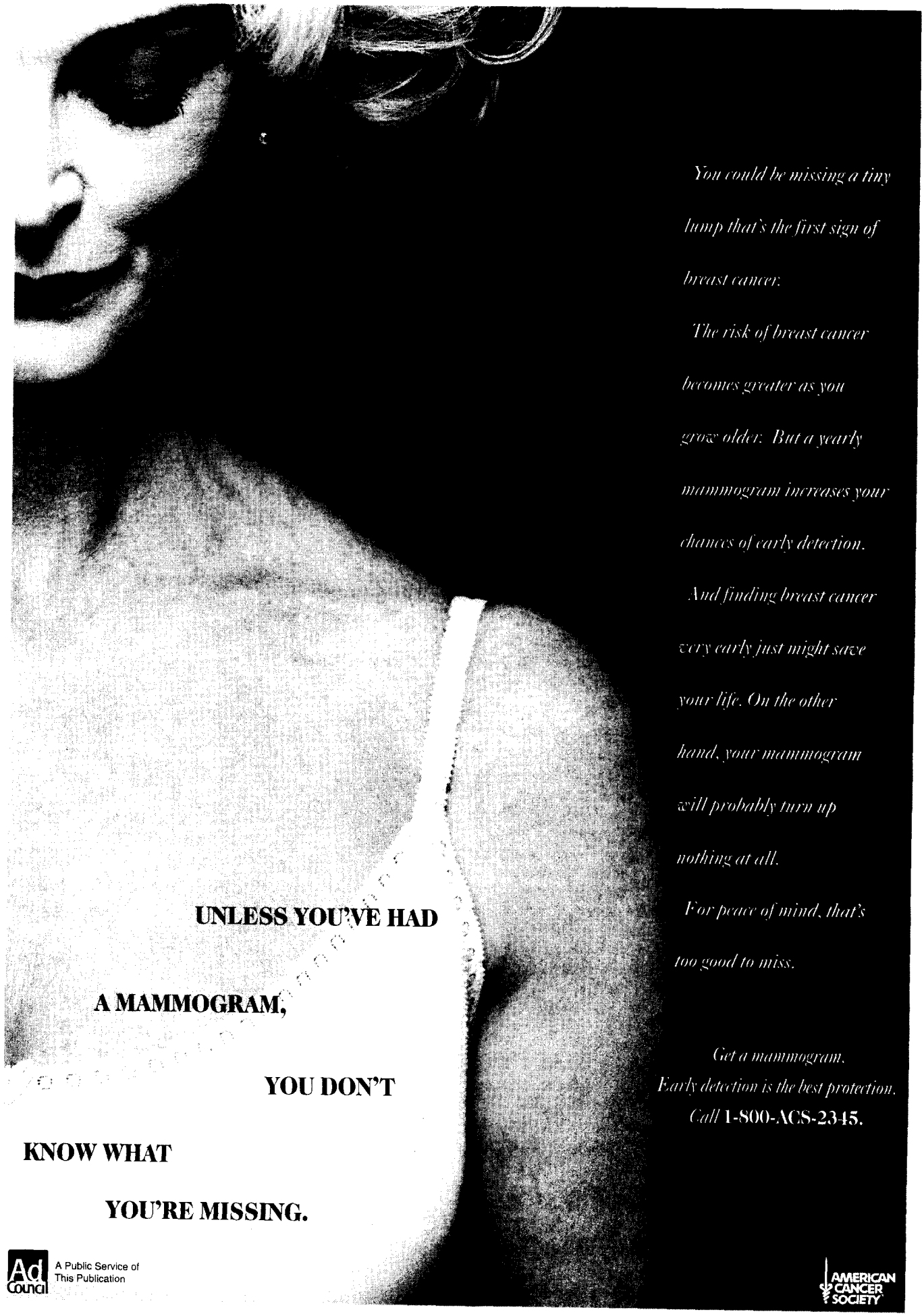
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continued from page 7

Letters

THE NOT-SO-NEW CLASS

I was amazed by the assertion of your otherwise stimulating contributor, Professor Robert Westbrook, in the November issue ["The Counter-Intelligentsia: How Neoconservatism Lived and Died"], that, "of course, the New Class concept was not formulated by the neoconservatives as a serious analytical tool but as a political weapon."

Professor Westbrook's jab might come under the same derisory rubric of exaggeration as the infamous charge that "political correctness" was invented by the right. However, it sends the very, very alarming signal that the American academy has completely abandoned the study of such thinkers as Saint-Simon, Robert Michels, and Vilfredo Pareto, all of whom theorized the rise of a "new class" of intellectuals that would challenge the established entrepreneurial bourgeoisie for influence over society.

In other words, these conceptions were not "formulated by the neoconservatives" but have a long and important presence in the history of modern ideas. Given the interest of post-Sixties academics in obscure figures on the left; given the publication in English of the works of Jan Waclaw Machahski, the great articulator of these matters in the Russian revolutionary movement at the turn of the century; and given the precedence of Auguste Blanqui, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, and Pyotr Kropotkin in this controversy, Professor Westbrook's comment seems especially wrongheaded. These political writers saw, more than their sociological predecessors and contemporaries, the role of the state in fortifying the "new class." And they anticipated that class's potential to compete with and suppress the working class on the presumptive road of the latter to domination of society.

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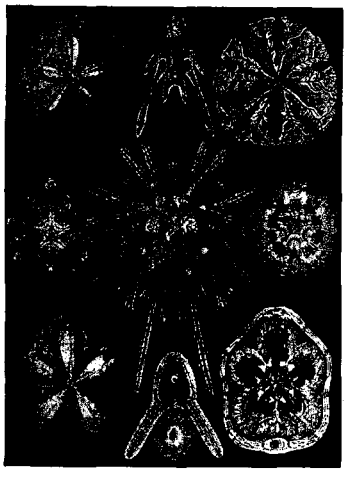

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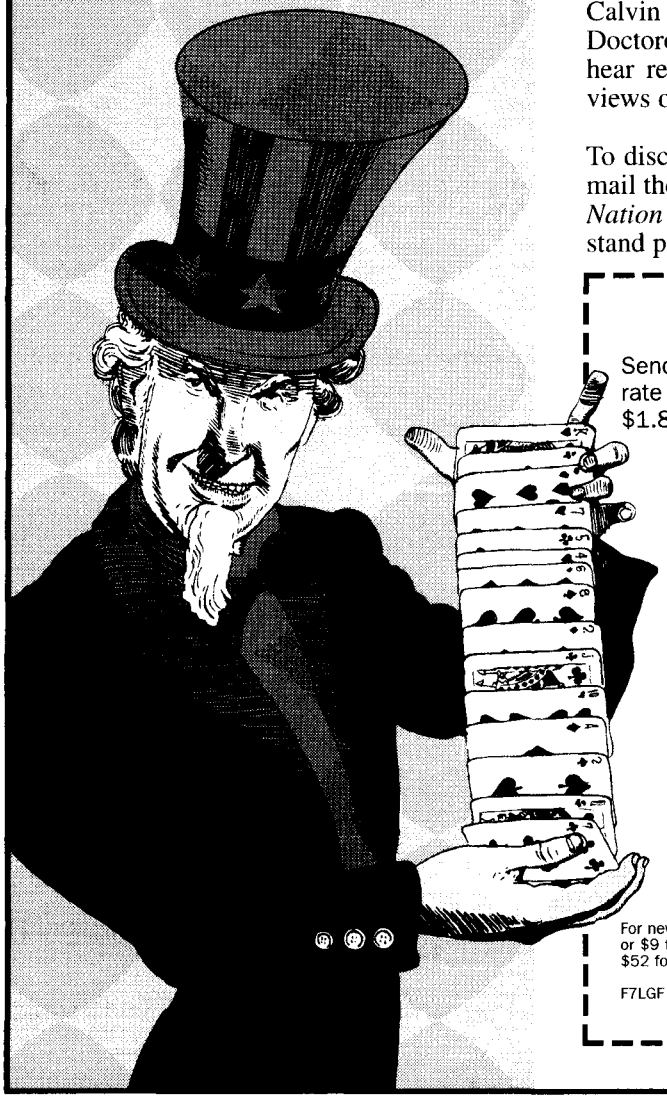

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Worcester Poly	Ahearne, Michael J.	Indiana, U of
Yale U	Ackerberg, Daniel	Boston U
Yale U	Conning, Jonathan H.	Williams C
Yale U	Dimand, Mary Ann	Albion C
Yale U	Pendleton, Linwood Hagan	Cal,U of
CAN-Toronto	Hollis, Aidan	Calgary-CAN
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NETH-Amsterdam	Goeree, Jacob	Virginia, U of
S AFR-Capetown	Malherbe, Paul	American U
UK-Cambridge	Huynh, Hsuch-Liing	Boston U
UK-London Schl Eco	Spector, David	MIT
Alabama, Hntsvl	Hinton, Rita	Alabama A & M
Alabama, U of	Holmes, Thomas	E Tennessee S
Alaska, U of	Knott, Kip	Muskingum C
Alaska, U of	Pennington, Debra A.	Alaska, Anchrg
American U	Corredor, Mary	Sul Ross S U
American U	Smith, Davina	American U
Arizona, U of	Hindman, Jane	San Diego S
Arizona, U of	Moneyhun, Clyde	Youngstown S
Arizona, U of	Thomas, John	SUNY, Oswego
Arkansas, U of	Perabo, Susan	Dickinson C
Ball S U	Peterson, Raileen L.	Ball S U
Baylor U	Hawkins, Ann	Austin Peay S
Boston U	Armstrong, James	Northwestern U
Boston U	Burgess, Miranda	New Brunswick-CAN
Boston U	Eaton, Mark	Oklahoma S U
Boston U	Hartley, Andrew	W Georgia C
Boston U	Kodat, Catherine	Hamilton C
Bowling Green S	Anderson, Antje	Dickinson C
Bowling Green S	Auten, Janet	American U
Bowling Green S	Campbell, Richard	Winona S U
Bowling Green S	Krause, Steven	S Oregon S C
Bowling Green S	Thursby, Jacqueline	Brighm Yng U
Bowling Green S	Young-Minor, Ethel	Mississippi, U of
Brandeis U	Daileader, Celia	Alabama, Brmng
Brandeis U	Goldner, Ellen	CUNY, StatIsl
Brandeis U	Halliday, Mark	Ohio U
Brandeis U	Quay, Sara	Kenyon C
Brandeis U	Travis, Jennifer	Illinois S U
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Brown U	Lowney, John	St John's U
Brown U	Matusukawa, Yuko	SUNY, Brckprt
Brown U	Scott, Helen C.	Wilkes C
Brown U	Young, Kevin	Georgia, U of
Carnegie Mellon	Blakeslee, Ann	E Michigan U
Carnegie Mellon	Fleming, David	New Mexico S U
Catholic U	Peterson, Zina	Brigham Yng U
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Chicago, U of	Morrisson, Mark	Penn S U
Chicago, U of	Ramey, Lauri Lee	Illinois Benedctn
Chicago, U of	Shannon, Laurie J.	Duke U
Chicago, U of	Tolliver., Jr., Willie	Agnes Scott C
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Columbia U	Lye, Collen	UC, Berkeley
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Columbia U	Rankine, Claudia	Barnard C
Columbia U	Rohrbach, Augusta	Oberlin C
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Cornell U	Goodman, Beverly	E Michigan U
Cornell U	Greene, Laura	Augustana C (IL)
Cornell U	Haynes, Rosetta	Indiana S U
Cornell U	Orr, Bridget	Iowa, U of
Cornell U	Shafer, Yvonne	St John's U
Cornell U	Sharpe, Christina E.	Hobart/WmSmth
Cornell U	Sicari, Stephen	St John's U
CUNY	Collins, Jane M.	Pace U
CUNY	Corradetti, Arthur R.	Long Island U
CUNY	Jacquette, Kathleen M.	SUNY
CUNY	Nelson, Deborah	Chicago, U of
CUNY	Rudden, Patricia Spence	CUNY
CUNY	Samuels, Peggy	Drew U
CUNY	Weisberg, David	Wesleyan U
CUNY	Williams, Lisa	Ramapo C
Delaware, U of	Nisly, Lamar	Bluffton C
Delaware, U of	Stable, Susan	Texas A&M U
Denver, U of	Haslem, Lori	Knox C
Denver, U of	Iverson, Kristen	Metropolitan S C
Denver, U of	Joplin, David	Black Hills S
Denver, U of	Meek, Sandra	Berry C
Denver, U of	Stein, Elizabeth	James Madison
Denver, U of	Tabakow, Philip	Bridgewater S
Duke U	Amos, Mark	Wilkes C
Duke U	Brewster, Glen	Westfield S C
Duke U	Chism, Christine	Rutgers, NBruns
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Duke U	Flatley, Jonathan	Virginia, U of
Duke U	Hedges, Warren	S Oregon S C
Duke U	Hicks, Heather	Villanova U
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Duke U	Nolan, Maura	Notre Dame, U of
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Duke U	Waldrep, Shelton	Georgia S U
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Duquesne U	Dimarco, Diane	Slippery Rock U
E Tennessee S	Clark, Linda	Maryville (TN)
Emory U	Boswell, Marshall	Rhodes C
Emory U	Brown, Amy	W Georgia C
Emory U	Ingram, Randall	Davidson C
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Emory U	Kilpatrick, Kathy	Rowan C
Evansville, U of	Smith, Martha K.	S Indiana, U of
Florida S U	Applegate, Nancy	Floyd C
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Florida S U	Meekins, Beth	W Carolina U
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Florida, U of	Ruth, Katrina	Liberty U
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Fordham U	Ruth, Todd	Mercy C
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Harvard U	Schware, Kthryn	Vanderbilt U
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Houston, U of	Williams, Thomas	Wiscnsn, GrnB
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Illinois S U	Ruzicka, Dennis	Winona S U
Illinois, U of	Gruber, Sibylle	N Arizona U
Illinois, U of	Hancin-Bhatt, Barbara	S Carolina, Clm
Illinois, U of	Mourao, Manuela	Old Dominion U
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Illinois, Urbana	Pratt, Susan	Concordia, StPl
Illinois, Urbana	Rachels, David	Virginia Military
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Indiana U	Heithaus, Joseph	DePauw U
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Indiana U	Livingston-Weber, Joan	W Illinois U
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Iowa, U of	Spaulding, Carol	Drake U
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Johns Hopkins	McGill, Meredith	Rutgers, NBruns
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Kansas, U of	Reiff, Mary Jo	Youngstown S
Kent S U	Patterson, Daniel	Cal S, SnBrndno
Kentucky, U of	Kessler, Valerie	Campbellsville U
Lehigh U	Glanz, Elaine Marie	Immaculata C
Louisiana S U	Kristensen, Randi	St Lawrence U
Louisiana S U	Mazel, David	Livingston U
Louisiana S U	Peeples, Scott	Charleston, C of
Louisiana S U	Russell, Henry M.	Franciscan Steuben
Louisville, U of	Shiffman, Betty	Spalding U
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Loyola Mrymnt	Guttman, Naomi	Hamilton C
Maine, U of	Carlson, Clifford	Springfield C
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Maryland, Coll Pk	Harrington, Susan	Maryland EShore
Maryland, CollPk	Birge, Amy	Temple U
Maryland, U of	Pedreira, Mark	Boston U
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Mass, U of	Higgins, Andrew	American U
Mass, U of	Madigan, Mark	Nazareth C
Mass, U of	Smith, Robert	Knox C
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Miami U, Oxford	Fair, Stephen J.	Malone C
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Michigan S U	Gourdine, Angeletta	LSU, BatnRoug
Michigan S U	Jooma, Minaz	St John's U
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Michigan S U	Winters, Carol	Grand Valley S
Michigan Tech	Latterell, Catherine	Texas Tech
Michigan Tech	Selber, Stuart	Texas Tech
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Michigan, U of	DeStigter, Todd	Illinois, Chicago
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Michigan, U of	Gidal, Eric	Iowa, U of
Michigan, U of	North, Marcy	Florida S U
Michigan, U of	Warner, Mary	W Carolina U
Michigan, U of	Won, Joseph	Vermont, U of
Minnesota, U of	Landman, James	N Texas, U of
Minnesota, U of	Lewis, Charles	Westminster C
Missouri, Clmb	O'Conner, Michael	Millikin U
N Arizona U	Basena, David	Bowie S U
N Arizona U	Conrad, Susan	Iowa S U
N Arizona U	Rowley, Kelley	SUNY, Oswego
N Carolina, ChpH	Floyd-Wilson, Mary	Yale U
N Carolina, ChpH	Groover, Kristina	Appalachian S
N Carolina, ChpH	Hood, James	Mars Hill C
N Carolina, ChpH	Ivory, James	Appalachian S
N Carolina, ChpH	Lloyd, Theresa	E Tennessee S
N Carolina, Wlm	Cornell, Meredith	Marshall U
N Texas, U of	Favor, Leslie	Sul Ross S U
N Texas, U of	Williamson, Richard	Muskingum C
N/A	Alves, Susan	Castleton S U
N/A	Bunn, William	Mt Royal C-CAN
N/A	Digby-Junger, Richard	W Michigan U
N/A	Easton, Lee	Mt Royal C-CAN
N/A	Esty, Joshua	Harvard U
N/A	Furman, Andrew	Florida Atlantic
N/A	Gould , Philip	Brown U
N/A	Krug, Rebecca	Harvard U
N/A	Low, Jennifer	Florida Atlantic
N/A	McLaughlin, Kevin	Brown U
Nebraska, Lncn	Bracks, Lean'tin	Fisk U
Nebraska, Lncn	Coleman-Hull, Philip	Luther C
Nebraska, Lncn	Kruse, Martha	Nebraska, Kearney
Nebraska, Lncn	Martin, Lee	N Texas, U of
Nebraska, Lncn	Radelich, Michael	Drake U
Nevada, Reno	Ghyman, Esther	Nevada, Reno
New Mexico, U of	Burkhalter, Nancy	Colorado, Denv
New Mexico, U of	Villa, Judith	Indiana U of PA
New School U	Wagner, Constance	St Peter's C
New York U	Abdoo, Sherlyn	St Peter's C
New York U	Gregor, Roselyne	St Peter's C
New York U	Hesfird, Wendy Sue	Indiana, Blmngtn
New York U	White, Katheryn	St Peter's C
New York U	Wondrich, F. David	St John's U
Northeastern U	Semrow, Susan	Northeastern S U
Northwestern U	Willey, Ann Elizabeth	Louisville, U of
Notre Dame, U of	Archambeau, Robert	Lake Forest C
Ohio S U	Barnett, Timothy	Wittenberg U
Ohio S U	Bowman, Rebecca	Otterbein C
Ohio S U	Chambers, Diane M.	Malone C
Ohio S U	Eisenstein, Paul	Otterbein C
Ohio S U	Greer, Jane	Missouri, KansC
Ohio S U	Hanstedt, Paul	Roanoke C
Ohio S U	Hogsette, David	New York Tech
Ohio S U	Mountford, Roxanne	Arizona, Tucson
Ohio U	Allen, Edward	S Dakota, U of
Ohio U	Elliot, Rennae	Oakwood C
Ohio U	Mayo, Wendall	Bowling Green S
Oklahoma, U of	Johnson, Frances	Rowan C
Oregon, U of	Piper, Karen	Missouri, Clmb
Oregon, U of	Wallerstein, Nicholas	Rockford C
Oregon, U of	Yukman, Lidia	Pacific U
Penn S U	Bernstein, Susan	Shippensburg
Penn S U	Charles, Asselin	SE Louisiana U
Penn, U of	Eide, Marian	Texas A&M U
Penn, U of	Noyes, Dorothy	Ohio S U
Penn, U of	Rudy, Mary	Chadron S C
Penn, U of	Saeger, Jamey	Vassar C
Penn, U of	Vrettos, Athena	Case Western Res
Penn, U of	Waples, Tim	Davidson C
Pittsburgh, U of	Galin, Jeffrey	Cal S, SnBrndno
Pittsburgh, U of	Ross, Christine	UC, Irvine
Pittsburgh, U of	Tinkcom, Matthew	Georgetown U
Princeton U	Brown, Sylvia	Alberta-CAN
Princeton U	Churchill, Suzanne	Davidson C
Princeton U	Conner, Marc	Washington&Lee
Princeton U	Fossett, Judith	S California, U of
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Purdue U	Parvin, Kathleen	Juniata C
Purdue U	Sirabian, Robert	MissippiValley
Purdue U	Toner, Lisa	Wheeling Jesuit
Rhode Island, U of	Mayberry, Bob	Grand Valley S
Rhode Island, U of	Williamson, Judith	American U
Rice U	Mintz, Susannah	Wittenberg U
Rice U	Sullivan, M. Nell	Houston, Dntn
Rice U	Toombs, Veronica	Wittenberg U
Rochester, U of	Anderson, Mark	Hobart/WmSmth
Rochester, U of	Stevens, Scott	Cal S, Fresno
Rollins C	Groth, Suzanne	Rollins C
Rutgers U	Breen, Margaret	Connecticut, U of
Rutgers U	Cobb, John	Wofford C
Rutgers U	Franks, Jill	Austin Peay S
Rutgers U	Miracky, James	Holy Cross, C of
Rutgers U	Perkins, Priscilla	Roosevelt U
Rutgers U	Reynolds, Jonathan	Livingstone C
Rutgers U	Roliston, Lou Ethel	St Peter's C
Rutgers U	Williamson, Michael	Indiana U of PA
S Cal, U of	Ferrario, Larry S.	Cal S, Domngz
S Cal, U of	Hammond, Lynn	Golden Gate U
S Carolina, U of	Haughey, James	Cntrl Wesleyan
S Carolina, U of	Hufnagel, Jill	Edinboro U
S Carolina, U of	Hynes, Jennifer	W Virginia U
S Carolina, U of	Martyniuk, Irene	Fitchburg S U
S Carolina, U of	Smith, Ramdall	Nyack C
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S Florida, U of	Bunting, Ann	Henderson S U
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S Missouri, U of	Zheng, Jianqing	MissippiValley
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SUNY, Bngmtn	Sands, Peter	Maine, U of
SUNY, Bngmtn	Schaefer, Charles	Liberty U
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SUNY, Buffalo	Zimmer, Joseph	Grand Valley S
SUNY, Stny Brk	Rhodes, Winthrop	Colorado S U
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SW Louisiana	Fleming, John	N Carolina, Wlmngtn
SW Louisiana	Larson, Leah Jean	Lady of the Lake U
Syracuse U	Griner, Paul	Louisville, U of
Syracuse U	Zenowich, Christopher	Denison U
Tennessee, Knox	Papa, Lee	Ball S U
Tennessee, Knox	Parkinson, Tracy	Lee C
Tennessee, U of	Adkins, Jennifer	Marshall U
Tennessee, U of	Ball, Melissa	Emory & Henry C
Tennessee, U of	Curtis, David	Belmont U
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Texas, Austin	Dobranski, Stephen	Georgia S U
Texas, Austin	Kolko, Beth	Texas, Arlington
Texas, Austin	Lenard, Mary	Alma C
Texas, Austin	Rothermel, Beth	Westfield S C
Texas, Austin	Rouzie, Albert	Ohio U
Texas, Austin	Steele, Karen	Texas Christian
Texas, Austin	Weeks, Denise	Weber S C
Texas Tech	Morgan, Trevor	Howard Payne U
Texas Tech	Orbell, Branda	Arkansas, LtlRk
Trinity U	Chavez, Denise	New Mexico S U
Tufts U	Jones, Jill	Rollins C
Tufts U	Shankar, Lavina	Bates C
Tulane U	Steward, Julie	Samford U
Tulsa, U of	Meyers, Cherie	Oral Roberts U
UC	MacComb, Debra	W Georgia C
UC, Berkeley	Berliner, Todd	N Carolina, Wlm
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UC, Berkeley	McGee, Timothy	Coll of New Jersey
UC, Berkeley	Targoff, Ramie	Yale U
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UC, San Diego	Haywood, Chanta	Florida S U
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Utah, U of	Fitzgerald, Kathryn	Utah S U
Utah, U of	Gadeken, Sara	Texas Tech
Vanderbilt U	Fesmire, Julia	Mdl Tennessee
Vanderbilt U	Knadler, Stephen	Spelman C
Vermont C, Norwich	Connor, Joan	Ohio U
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Vermont C, Norwich	Sandlin, Lisa	Wayne S C
Virginia Tech	Moore, John	Purdue U
Virginia, U of	Beltwood, Scott	Emory & Henry C
Virginia, U of	Coldiron, Anne	Towson S U
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Virginia, U of	Sherer, Susan	Indiana U East
W Virginia, U of	Dalporto, Jeanne	Charlstn, U of
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Washington S U	Haswell, Janis	TexasA&M,CrpsC
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Washington, U of	Christmas, Bill	San Francisco S U
Washington, U of	Chuh, Kandice	Maryland, CollPk
Washington, U of	Hasseler, Terri	Bryant C
Washington, U of	Kendrick, Michelle	Washington S U
Washington, U of	Shiller, Dana	Evansville, U of
Washington, U of	Shimakawa, Karen	Vanderbilt U
Washington, U of	Taylor, Marcy	Cntrl Michigan S U
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William & Mary	Raney, David	W Georgia C
Wisconsn, Madsn	Harris, Ronald	SE Louisiana U
Wisconsn, Madsn	McCabe, Tracy	Emerson C
Wisconsn, Madsn	Steinke, Jocelyn	W Michigan U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Strand, Sharon	Black Hills S
Wisconsn, Milw	Belmont, Cynthia	Northland C
Wisconsn, Milw	Callaway, Susan	St Thomas, U of
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Yale U	Anderson, Randall	Lawrence U
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Yale U	Hai, Ambreen	Smith C
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CAN-Toronto	Powell, Stephen	Texas Christian
CAN-W Ontario	Lingard, John	Cape Breton-CAN
FRN-Paris, U of	Christophe, Michel	Maryland EShore
FRN-Paris, U of	Tall, Sonia	Roosevelt U
IND-Punjabi	Gulshan, Rima	Maryland EShore
NIG-Ibadan	Laoye, G. Oty	Gettysburg C
SPN-Toledo	Filetti, Jean	ChrstphrNewport
UK-Birmingham	Vince-Howard, Alycia	Berea C
UK-Cambridge	Harrison, Carey	CUNY, Brooklyn
UK-Cambridge	Li, Hao	Alberta-CAN
UK-East Anglia	Freidin, Deborah	Marshall U
UK-Kent	Gregg, Veronica	Colgate U
UK-Oxford	Eltis, Sos	Boston U
UK-Oxford	Higgins, Geraldine	Emory U
UK-York	Khanna, Ranjana	Washington, U of
Chicago, U of	Maggi, Armando	Penn, U of
Cincinnati, U of	Pfenninger, Ariane	Coll of New Jersey
Columbia U	Etienne, Isabelle	Barnard C
Columbia U	Schulman, Peter	Old Dominion U
Connecticut, U of	Galluci, Carole	William & Mary
Cornell U	Malena, Anne	Alberta-CAN
CUNY	Hayes, Jarrod L.	Michigan, U of
Duke U	Levy, Gayle	Missouri, KansC
Duke U	Spires, Margaret	Millikin U
Emory U	Hinds, Leonard D.	Indiana, Blmngtn
Florida S U	Brown, Carol	Penn S U
Florida, U of	Ayoun, Dalila	Arizona, Tucson
Harvard U	Frank, Claudine	Barnard C
Harvard U	Mormando, Franco	Boston C
Indiana U	Murchison, Nancy	Dallas, U of
Kansas, U of	Imhoff, Guy	Hampden-Sydny
Kansas, U of	Tonen, Frederick	Ohio U
Kentucky, U of	Harrison, Lucia	SE Louisiana U
Louisiana S U	Loichot, Valerie	Washington C
Louisiana S U	Pallez, Frederic	SE Louisiana U
Maryland, U of	Crosley, Bernadette	Distrct Columbia
Michigan, U of	Bordean, Catherine	Lyon C
Michigan, U of	Von Flotow, Luise	Ottawa-CAN
Minnesota, U of	Frindethie, K. Martial	Maryland, CollPk
N Carolina, ChpH	De Pree, Julia	Agnes Scott C
N Carolina, ChpH	Fregnac-Clave, F.	Washington&Lee
N/A	Plaza, Maria-Jesus	Mt Royal C-CAN
New York U	Baehler, Aline	Vanderbilt U
New York U	Curran, Andrew	Union C (NY)
New York U	Gosnell, Jonathan	Smith C
New York U	Ingram, Mark	Goucher C
Northwestern U	Holmes, Olivia	Yale U
Ohio S U	Spoiden, Stephane	Michigan, Drbrn
Oregon, U of	Fleshman, Sherrie	N Dakota, U of
Oregon, U of	Hess, Erika	Rust C
Oregon, U of	Lifongo, Vetinde	Lawrence U
Oregon, U of	Pactat, Michel	Miami U, Oxford
Penn S U	Burnett, Joanne E.	S Mississippi, U of
Penn, U of	Allen, Anthony	Ohio S U
Penn, U of	Carden, Sally Tartline	Missouri, U of
Penn, U of	Descas, Marie-Jo	Monmouth C
Penn, U of	Paige, Nicholas	UC, Berkeley
Penn, U of	Palacio, Eric	S Florida, U of
Penn, U of	Solomon, Julie	Texas Christian
Princeton U	Bamps, Yvan	Emory U
Princeton U	Santoro, Milena	Georgetown U
Purdue U	Allen, Linda	Missouri, St L
Rutgers U	Picarazzi, Teresa	Arizona, Tucson
Stanford U	Paoli, David	Dickinson C
Stanford U	Rhyue, Robert	SW Louisiana
Stanford U	Stampnino, Maria	Miami, U of
Texas, Austin	Ghillebaert, François	Texas, Austin
Texas, Austin	Khorrami, M.	Monterey Inst Int'l Stud
Texas, Austin	Porcello, Valerie	Susquehanna U

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Texas, Austin	Whittaker, Odile	Southwestern U
Tulane U	Silver, Susan	Smith C
UC, Berkeley	Frisch, Andrea	Colorado, Bldr
UC, Berkeley	Riley, Patrick	Oklahoma, U of
UC, Davis	Alalou, Ali	Columbia U
UC, Los Angeles	Baldi, Andrea	Rutgers, NBruns
Vanderbilt U	Brooks, Amanda	Miami, U of
Washington, U of	Mazzola, Claudio	Holy Cross, C of
Wisconsn, Madsn	Krause, Virginia	Brown U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Rockwell, Paul	Colby C
Wisconsn, U of	Olson, Linda	S Connecticut
Yale U	Lehmann, Anna	Barnard C
Yale U	Ricciardi, Alessia	Colorado, Bldr
Yale U	Sanyal, Debarati	Yale U
Yale U	Thomas, Dominic	Notre Dame, U of
CAN-Montreal	Gural-Migdal, Anna	Alberta-CAN
CAN-Montreal	Mopoho, Raymond	Dalhousie-CAN
CAN-Montreal	Nzabatsinda, Anthere	Vanderbilt U
CAN-Toronto	Heap, David	W Ontario-CAN
CAN-Toronto	Nadasdi, Terry	Alberta-CAN
FRN-Nantes	Kabia, Mahamed	District Columbia
FRN-Paris, U of	Le Calvez, Eric	Georgia S U
SWT-Geneva	Elslande, Jean-Pierre	Washington, U of
UK-Kings	Siebelman, Simon	Shippensburg
Arizona S U	Blake, Kevin	Wyoming, U of
Arizona S U	Lines, Lee	Rollins C
Boston U	Azary, Irisita G.	UC
Boston U	Schaaf, Crystal	Boston U
Carleton C	Moorman, Brian	Calgary-CAN
Clark U	Dow, Kristin	S Carolina, Clm
Clark U	Gilbert, Melissa	Temple U
Clark U	Hartwick, Elaine	Cntrl Connecticut S U
Clark U	Kyem, Peter	Florida, U of
Clark U	Mattingly, Doreen	San Diego S
Clark U	Mitchell, Jeffrey	Clark U
Clark U	Robbins, Paul	Iowa, U of
Clark U	Roth, Linda	Kentucky, U of
Clark U	Savage, Lydia	S Maine, U of
Clark U	Steinberg, Philip	Bucknell U
Clark U	Theyel, Gregory	New Hmpshire, U of
Clark U	Young, Stephen	Salem S U
Cornell U	Smith, Laurence	UC, Los Angeles
Denver, U of	Marr, Paul	Shippensburg
Emporia S U	Fraser, Rolland	W Michigan U
Georgia, U of	Gong, Hongman	Fort Hays S U
Georgia, U of	Luo, Yu	Indiana S U
Idaho, U of	Couch, Samuel	Dickinson S
Idaho, U of	Haddock, Gregory	NW Missouri S
Illinois, Urbana	Montagu, A. Simon	Miami U, Oxford
Indiana U	Lorah, Paul	St Thomas, U of
Kent S U	Edgell, Dennis	N Carolina, Pembroke
Louisiana S U	Qiu, Hong-Lie	Cal S, LosAngls
Mass, U of	Kotval, Zenia Z.	Michigan S U
Michigan S U	Bierly, Gregory	Indiana S U
Michigan S U	Fischer, Julie	W Michigan U
Minnesota, U of	Kinman, Edward	Missouri, Clmb
Minnesota, U of	Lockwood, Catherine	Chadron S C
Minnesota, U of	Wyly, Elvin	Rutgers, NBruns
N Carolina, U of	Allen, Thomas	Old Dominion U
N Carolina, U of	Patrick, Kevin	Indiana U of PA
N/A	Myneni, Ranga	Boston U
Nevada, Reno	Burbey, Thomas	Virginia Tech
NW Missouri S	Bradley, Jeffrey	NW Missouri S
Ohio S U	Wang, Fahui	N Illinois U
Purdue U	Andresen, Jeffrey A.	Michigan S U
Purdue U	Lehman, Jeffrey	Otterbein C
Rutgers U	Johns, Rebecca	S Florida, U of
Rutgers U	Millar, Susan	Cntrl Connecticut
Rutgers U	Tuason, Julie	SW Texas S U
S Carolina, U of	Hodgson, Michael	S Carolina, Clm
S Carolina, U of	Nelson, Elisabeth	San Diego S
SUNY, Buffalo	Li, Gang (Gary)	Cal S U, Hayward

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Tennessee, U of	Benhart, John	Indiana U of PA
Texas A&M	Anderson, Timothy	Ohio U
Texas A&M	Ridenour, Gregory	Austin Peay S
Texas, Austin	Pittman, Jeffrey	Colorado, Denv
Texas, Austin	Reese, Joseph	NW Missouri S
UC	Dezzani, Raymond	Boston U
UC, Berkeley	Aoyama, Yuko	Georgia, U of
UC, Berkeley	Hsing, You-Tien	Br Columbia-CAN
UC, Berkeley	Mutersbaugh, Tad	Iowa, U of
UC, Berkeley	Suryanata, Krisnawati	Colorado, Denv
UC, Davis	Lescinsky, Halard	Otterbein C
Utah, U of	Lupo, Karen	N Texas, U of
Virginia Tech	Munn, Barbara	Shippensburg
Washington, U of	Delaney, Edward	N Michigan U
Washington, U of	Harvey, Francis	Ecole Polytech-SWT
Washington, U of	Krishnasamy, R.	Singapore-SNG
Washington, U of	Oakes, Timothy	Colorado, Bldr
Washington, U of	Zaslavsky, Ilya	W Michigan U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Anderton, John	N Dakota, U of
Wisconsn, Madsn	Hoelscher, Steven	LSU, BatnRoug
Wisconsn, Madsn	Till, Karen	LSU, BatnRoug
Wyoming, U of	Leite, Michael	Chadron S C
CAN Br Columbia	Hole, John	Virginia Tech
CAN-Calgary	Townshend, Ivan	Lethbridge-CAN
CAN-McGill	Dupigny-Giroux, L.	S Illinois, Edwrds
CAN-McMaster	Woudsma, Clarence	Calgary-CAN
CAN-Saskatchewan	Saka, James	Frostburg S U
CAN-Sherbrooke	Hall-Beyer, Mrya	Calgary-CAN
CAN-Toronto	Boone, Christopher	Cal S, LosAngls
CAN-Waterloo	Dallen, Timothy	Cntrl Connecticut S U
CAN-Waterloo	Peddle, Derek	Lethbridge-CAN
CAN-Waterloo	Timothy, Dallen	Cntrl Connecticut
CIS-State Hydrological	Lapenis, Andrei	SUNY, Albany
CIS-Tbilisi	Knjazihhin, Juri	Boston U
UK-Edinburgh	Xu, Hui	Frostburg S U
UK Leeds	Gahbauer, Mary	Otterbein C
UK-London Schl Eco	Lee, Michael	Cal S U, Hayward
Albany, U of	Lackmann, Gary	SUNY, Brckprt
Arizona, U of	Hay, Rodrick	Cal S, Domngz
Boston U	Fenster, Michael	Texas Christian U
Colorado S U	Hall, Maurice	Radford U
Colorado S U	Hayes, Benjamin	Bucknell U
Columbia U	Goldstein, Steven	Columbia U
Columbia U	Lynch-Steightz, Jean	Columbia U
Columbia U	Marcantonio, Franco	Tulane U
Cornell U	Zolleg, James	SUNY, Brckprt
Dartmouth C	Rhodes, Amy	Smith C
Harvard U	Follo, Michael	Colby C
Indiana U	Jacobs, Alan	Youngstown S
Johns Hopkins	Bailey, Christopher	William & Mary
Johns Hopkins	Schubel, Kathryn	Lafayette C
Kansas, U of	Coleman, Drew	Boston U
Lehigh U	Strasser, Jeffrey	Augustana C (IL)
Louisiana S U	Hose, Louise	Westminster C
Michigan, U of	Hover, Victoria	Rutgers, Newark
Minnesota, U of	Locke, Sandra	Bates C
Minnesota, U of	Saccocia, Peter	Bridgewater S
Missouri, Rolla	Hatfield, Stan	S Utah U
N/A	Mustard, John	Brown U
Nevada, Reno	Greene, David C.	Denison U
Oklahoma, U of	Ghassemi, Ahmad	N Dakota, U of
Penn S U	Blackmer, Gale	Dickinson C
Purdue U	Levine, Norman	Bowling Green S
Purdue U	Reichard, James	Georgia Southern
S Illinois U	Miller, Jerry	IndianaPurdu,Ind
Stanford U	Cox, Ronadh	Williams C
Stanford U	Wyld, Sandra	Georgia, U of
SUNY, Bngmtn	Park, Sam-Keun	Kyungpook-KOR
UC, Davis	Dilek, Yildirim	Miami U, Oxford
UC, Los Angeles	Hacker, Bradley	UC, St Barbara
UC, San Diego	Zhao, Meixun	Dartmouth C
UC, Santa Cruz	Dolan, James F.	S Cal, U of

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UC, Santa Cruz	Tait, James	S Connecticut
UC, Santa Cruz	Widom, Elisabeth	Miami U, Oxford
Utah, U of	Langford, Richard	Texas, U of
Washington U	Owens, Brent	William & Mary
Washington, U of	Clark, Douglas	IndianaPurdu,Ind
Wisconsn, Madsn	Colgan, Patrick	Northeastern U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Munroe, Jeffrey	Northland C
Cincinnati, U of	Coury, David	Wisconsn, GrnB
Cincinnati, U of	De Vries., Jr., H.	Connecticut, U of
Cincinnati, U of	Weirick, Allen	Georgia, U of
Illinois, Urbana	Boniger, Marianne	Kenyon C
Johns Hopkins	Breithaupt, Fritz	Indiana, Blmngtn
Mass, Amherst	McLary, Laura	Mississippi, U of
Mass, U of	Herrman, Mareike	RandlphMacon
Mass, U of	von Held, Kristina	Smith C
Michigan, U of	Blickle, Peter	W Michigan U
Michigan, U of	Brueggeman, Aminia	Old Dominion U
Minnesota, U of	Goblirsch, Kurt	S Carolina, Clm
Minnesota, U of	Thorson, Helga	Arkansas, LtlRk
Minnesota, U of	Zinn, Gesa	Louisville, U of
Oregon, U of	Witthoeft, Heide	Virginia Tech
Penn, U of	Appl, Cynthia	Baker C
Penn, U of	Bryant, Keri	Murray S U
Penn, U of	Miller, Vincent	N Mexico S U
Penn, U of	Spreizer, Christine	Queens C
Penn, U of	Wagner, Lori	Lehigh U
Texas, Austin	Bokel, Franz	Centre C
Texas, Austin	Ehrstine, Glenn	Iowa, U of
Texas, Austin	Moyer, Alene	Georgetown U
Texas, Austin	Schwink, Frederick W.	Illinois, Urbana
UC, Berkeley	Nenno, Nancy	Wellesley C
UC, Berkeley	Tobias, Rochelle	Johns Hopkins
UC, Los Angeles	Burt, Raymond	N Carolina, Wlm
UC, Los Angeles	Eidecker, Martina	Georgia S U
UC, Los Angeles	Lashgari, Mahafarid	Haverford C
UC, Los Angeles	Sazaki, Kristina	Holy Cross, C of
UC, San Diego	Fischer, Barbara	Samford U
Utah, U of	Yang, Peter	Case Western Res
Washington U	Baer, Gregory	Carthage C
Washington U	Grair, Charles	Texas Tech
Washington U	Nathenson, Cary	Grinnell C
Wisconsn, U of	Kagel, Martin	Georgia, U of
Yale U	Olson, Laura	Colorado, Bldr
CAN-Br Columbia	Hirata, Hosea	Tufts U
GER-Munich	Gobig, Michaela	NW Missouri S
Arizona S U	Bales, Rebecca	SUNY, Oswego
Arizona, U of	Smith, Phyllis	Mars Hill C
Auburn U	Rieff, Lynne	N Alabama, U of
Boston C	Norris, Janice	St Norbert C
Boston U	McGrath, John	Boston U
Boston U	McIntyre, Sheila	Boston U
Boston U	Mitchel, Maria	Franklin & Marshall
Boston U	Wolde Mariam, T.	Addis Abba-ETHOPIA
Bowling Green S	Allison, William	Bowling Green S U
Bowling Green S	Saddington, James	Taylor U
Brandeis U	Connolly, James J.	Ball S U
Brandeis U	Hametz, Maura	Old Dominion U
Brandeis U	Pleck, Elizabeth	Illinois, Urbana
Brandeis U	Schen, Claire S.	Wake Forest C
Brown U	Douglas, Raymond	Colgate U
Brown U	Drell, Joanna	Colgate U
Carnegie Mellon	Cole, Lori	Drake U
Carnegie Mellon	Miller, Montserrat	Marshall U
Carnegie Mellon	Szylvian, Kristin	W Michigan U
Chicago, U of	Andrews, James	Connecticut, U of
Chicago, U of	Armstrong, Charles	Columbia U

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Chicago, U of	Bliss, Katherine	Mass, Amherst
Chicago, U of	Calder, Lendol	Augustana C (IL)
Chicago, U of	Ebersale, Gary	Missouri, KansC
Chicago, U of	Eghigian, Greg	Texas, Arlington
Chicago, U of	Martin, Terry	Calgary-CAN
Chicago, U of	Schultz, Mark	Lewis U
Claremont Grad	Garcia, Matthew	Illinois, Urbana
Colorado, U of	Thoma, Pamela	Colby C
Columbia U	Ben-Atar, Doron	Fordham U
Columbia U	Dallek, Robert	Boston U
Columbia U	Dobson, Sean	Portland S U
Columbia U	Henry, Sarah	Union C (NY)
Columbia U	Holquist, Peter	Cornell U
Columbia U	King, Jeremy	Mt Holyoke C
Columbia U	Simoncini, Gabriele	Pace, WhitePl
Columbia U	Thompson, Elizabeth	Virginia, U of
Columbia U	Wiese, Andrew	San Diego S
Cornell U	Amoroso, Donna	Wright S U
Cornell U	Campt, Tina	UC, Santa Cruz
Cornell U	Crowston, Clare	Illinois, Urbana
Cornell U	Doyle, Michael W.	Ball S U
Cornell U	Geibel, Christoph	Mississippi S U
Cornell U	Gidlow, Liette	Hobart/WmSmth
Cornell U	Giebel, Christoph J.F.	Mississippi S
Cornell U	Lanza, Janine	Appalachian S
Cornell U	Lu, Yan	New Hmpshire, U of
Cornell U	Matt, Susan	Clark U
Cornell U	Montgomery, Charles	Florida, Gnsvl
Cornell U	Oropeza, Lorena	UC, Davis
Cornell U	Robinson, Geoffrey	UC, Los Angeles
Cornell U	Sims, Amy	Golden Gate U
Cornell U	Zinoman, Peter	UC, Berkeley
CUNY	McCrie, Robert Delbert	CUNY
CUNY	Sample, Dana Lynn	Hampton U
Delaware, U of	Specht, Neva	Appalachian S
Duke U	Celenza, Christophe	Michigan S U
Duke U	Higham, Carol	Texas A&M U
Duke U	Price, Wendy L.	Mary Washngtn C
Emory U	Rodrigue, John	LSU, BatnRoug
Emory U	Sandlund, Vivien	Hiram C
Florida S U	Alvarez, Jose	Houston, Dntn
Florida S U	Cain, Alana	Morehead S U
Florida S U	Dunn, John	Valdosta S U
Florida S U	Fai-Podlipnik, Judith	SE Louisiana U
Florida S U	O'Neill, Mark	Auburn U
Florida S U	Riordan, Patrick	Middlesex U-UK
Florida S U	Smith, Douglas	Naval War C
Florida, U of	Bushnell, Amy	Charleston, C of
Florida, U of	Cole, Stephanie	Texas, Arlington
Florida, U of	Horn, Randolph	Samford U
Fordham U	Bellitto, Christopher	St Joseph's Sem
Georgetown U	Phillips, Steven	Gettysburg C
Georgetown U	Smith, Michael	Purdue U
Georgia, U of	Bryant, Joanthan	Georgia Southern
Harvard U	Brennan, James	UC, Riverside
Harvard U	Brown, Thomas	S Carolina, Clm
Harvard U	Heretz, Leonid	Bridgewater S
Harvard U	Kaplan, Benjamin	Iowa, U of
Harvard U	Martin, Russell E.	Westminster (PA)
Harvard U	Schechter, Ronald	William & Mary
Harvard U	Schmidt, Benjamin	Washington, U of
Harvard U	Tsang, Carol	Illinois, Chicago
Hawaii, U of	Jin, Qiu	Old Dominion U
Illinois, U of	Bucur-Deckard, Maria	Indiana, Blmngtn
Illinois, Urbana	Coleman, David	Minnsota, Dlth
Illinois, Urbana	Guelcher, Gregory	Morningside C
Illinois, Urbana	Wigginton, Russell	Rhodes C
Indiana U	Black, Thomas C.	Washington C
Indiana U	Chapell, John	Webster U
Indiana U	Green, Kathryn	Cal S, SnBrndno
Indiana U	Hanson, Randy	Colby-Sawyer C
Indiana U	Hudson, Lynn	Cal Polytech
Indiana U	Jacobs, Nancy	Brown U
Indiana U	Sunderland, Willard	Cincinnati, U of
Iowa, U of	Arrow, David	Dayton, U of
Iowa, U of	Bonakdarian, Mansour	Arizona S West
Iowa, U of	Bucklin, Steven	S Dakota, U of
Iowa, U of	Child, Brenda	Minnsota,TwnC
Iowa, U of	Darrow, David	Dayton, U of
Iowa, U of	Deslippe, Dennis	Shippensburg
Iowa, U of	Groch, John	Pittsburgh, U of
Iowa, U of	Gutjahr, Paul	Indiana U
Iowa, U of	Halverson, James	Judson C
Iowa, U of	Handy-Marcello, B.	N Dakota, U of
Iowa, U of	Kilroy, David	Wheeling Jesuit C
Iowa, U of	Moten, Derryn	Alabama S U
Iowa, U of	Neilson, Kim	Macalester C
Iowa, U of	Otterness, Philip	Warren Wilson C
Iowa, U of	Porter, Kimberly	N Dakota, U of
Iowa, U of	Quiroz, Anthony	TexasA&M,CrpsC
Iowa, U of	Roberton, Natalie	Prairie View U
Iowa, U of	Strayer-Jones, Jennifer	S E Missouri S
Iowa, U of	Turner, Nancy	Wisconsn, Platty
Johns Hopkins	Giles-Vernick, Tamara	Virginia, U of
Johns Hopkins	Graham, Lisa	Haverford C
Johns Hopkins	Marion, Rene S.	Ball S U
Johns Hopkins	Parker, Alison	Texas, Arlington
Johns Hopkins	Rabuzzi, Daniel	Luther C
Johns Hopkins	Roorda, Eric	Bellarmine C
Johns Hopkins	Zelizer, Julian	SUNY, Albany
Kansas S U	Rook, Robert	Fort Hays S U
Kansas, U of	Rome, Adam	Penn S U
Kentucky, U of	Glover, Loori	Otterbein C
Louisiana S U	Nicassio, Susan	SW Louisiana
Loyola, Chicago	Candy, Catherine	Gonzaga U
Mass. Amherst	Field, Gregory	Michigan, Drbrn
Miami, U of	Fernandez, Elisa	Louisville, U of
Miami, U of	Metallo, Thomas	Oral Roberts U
Miami, U of	Penry, Sarah	New Mexico S U
Miami U, Oxford	Calvert, Kenneth	Hillsdale C
Miami U, Oxford	Eaker, Susan A.	Morehouse S U
Miami U, Oxford	Wineland, John	Roanoke Bible C
Michigan S U	Cheeseborro, A.	S Illinois, Edwrds
Michigan S U	Griffin, Junius	Emory & Henry C
Michigan S U	Pierce, Richard	Notre Dame, U of
Michigan, U of	Bachin, Robin	Miami, U of
Michigan, U of	Balaghi, Shiva	Vermont, U of
Michigan, U of	Ener, Mine	Villanova U
Michigan, U of	Frazier, Jessie Jo	S Carolina, Clm
Michigan, U of	Hickey, Georgina	Georgia Southern
Michigan, U of	Kwass, Michael Alan	Yale U
Michigan, U of	Samantrai, Ranu	Claremont Grad
Michigan, U of	Schafer, Daniel	Belmont U
Michigan, U of	Walker, Barbara	Nevada, Reno
Minnesota, U of	Buff, Rachel	Bowling Green S
Minnesota, U of	Diaz, Arlene	Indiana, Blmngtn
Minnesota, U of	Wimmer, Linda	Bridgewater S
MIT	Mindell, David	MIT
MIT	Wang, Jessica	UC, Los Angeles
N Carolina, ChpH	Dollard, Catherine L.	Denison U
N Carolina, ChpH	Goda, Norman	Ohio U
N Carolina, ChpH	Philyaw, Scott	W Carolina U
N Carolina, ChpH	Thurber, Timothy	SUNY, Oswego
N Carolina, Grns	Pennell, Myra	Appalachian S
N Carolina, U of	Bergen, Doris	Notre Dame, U of
N Carolina, U of	Hayse, Michael	Stockton S C
N/A	Abramson, Henry	Florida Atlantic
N/A	Beckert, Sven	Harvard U
N/A	Blair, Ann	Harvard U
N/A	Gregory, Brad S.	Stanford U
N/A	Tyler, Pamela	N Carolina S U
N/A	Walker, Melissa	Converse C
New Mexico, U of	Hunner, Jon	New Mexico S U
New Mexico, U of	Pasztor, Suzanne	Pacific, U of the
New York U	Tang, Edward	Colgate U
New York U	Thompson, Christopher S.	Ball S U
Northwestern U	Shannon, Timothy	Gettysburg C
Notre Dame, U of	Rinderle, Walter	S Indiana, U of
Notre Dame, U of	Wigger, John	Missouri, Clmb
Ohio S U	Anderson, Carol	Missouri, Clmb
Ohio S U	Damms, Richard V.	Mississippi S
Ohio S U	Feis, William	Buena Vista U
Oklahoma, U of	Kneeland, Timothy	Greenville C
Oregon, U of	Birsch, Douglas	Shippensburg
Oregon, U of	Hertzel, David	SW Oklahoma S
Penn S U	Domino, Brian	E Michigan U
Penn, U of	Adderly, L. Roseanne	Tulane U
Penn, U of	Joshi, Sanjay	N Arizona U
Penn, U of	Lawrence, David	Arizona S West
Penn, U of	Lockenour, Jay	Temple U
Penn, U of	Page, Max	Georgia S U
Penn, U of	Schenk, Ingrid	Georgia S U
Penn, U of	Schrader, Abby	Franklin & Marshall
Penn, U of	Schulten, Susan	Denver, U of
Penn, U of	Stein, Marc	Colby C
Princeton U	Akarli, Engin	Brown U
Princeton U	Baun, Jane	New York U
Princeton U	Bell, David	Johns Hopkins
Princeton U	Dain, Bruce	Wyoming, U of
Princeton U	Forsyth, Douglas	Bowling Green S
Princeton U	Gregg, Robert	Stockton S C
Princeton U	Hamdani, Sumaiya A.	George Mason U
Princeton U	LeGall, Dina	Rutgers, NBruns
Princeton U	Porter, Susie	Utah, U of
Princeton U	Robinson, David	Colgate U
Rice U	Frost, Ginger	Samford U
Rice U	Klein, Joanne	Salem C
Rutgers U	Frederickson, Kair	Central Fl, U of
Rutgers U	Helstosky, Carol	Penn, U of
Rutgers U	Hoffman, Beatrice	N Illinois U
Rutgers U	Kaufman, Suzanne	Miami U
Rutgers U	McCarthy, Maureen	St Anselm's U
Rutgers U	Reeder, Linda	Missouri, Clmb
Rutgers U	Sandage, Scott	Carnegie Mellon
Rutgers U	Whitney, Susan	Carleton-CAN
S California, U of	Koos, Cheryl	La Sierra U
S California, U of	Mahar, Karen	TexasA&M,CrpsC
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S Indiana, U of	Alonzo, Armando	Texas A&M U
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Tulane U	Stricklin, David	Lyon C
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Vanderbilt U	Williams, James	Mdl Tennessee
Virginia, U of	Guest, Karen	Georgetown C
Virginia, U of	Mutongi, Kenda	Williams C
W Virginia, U of	Drobney, Jeffery	Youngstown S
Washington U	Madison, Julian	Youngstown S
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Yale U	Lepore, Jill	Boston U
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MIT	Truckenbrodt, Hubert	Rutgers, NBruns
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Brown U	Towse, Christopher	Swarthmore C
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Kansas S U	Kallam, Linda	Fort Hays S U
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Kentucky, U of	Schueller, Laura	Whitman C
Kentucky, U of	Vandenhouten, R.	W New England
Louisville, U of	Jagels, Carl	Wilmington C (DE)
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Mass, U of	Blau, Philip	Boston U
Mass, U of	Larose, Daniel	Cntrl Connecticut
Mass, U of	Rhoades, Sandra	Keene S C
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Michigan S U	Zhang, Ping	W Michigan U
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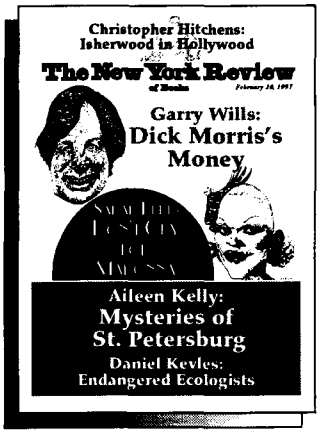

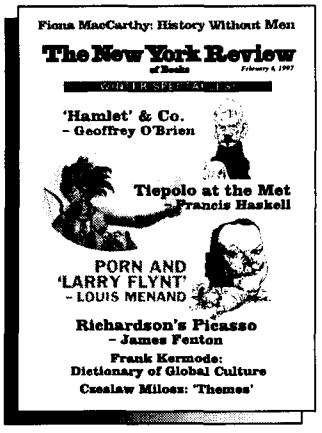

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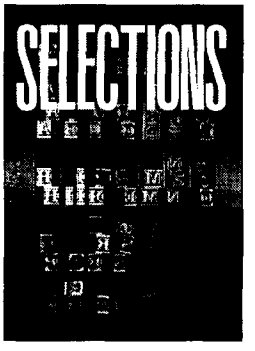

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UC, San Diego	Cross, Carolyn	Colby C
UC, San Diego	Wang, Zhenghan	Indiana, Blmngtn
UC, St Barbara	Mangum, Brian S.	Barnard C
Utah, U of	Castro, Alberto	Smith C
Vanderbilt U	Rickert, John	Dallas, U of
Vanderbilt U	Stanley, Sonya	Samford U
Vanderbilt U	Yu, Xingxing	Vanderbilt U
Virginia Cmnwlth	Elder, Jennifer	N Carolina, Wlm
Virginia Cmnwlth	Easter, Stephen	RandlphMacon
Virginia, U of	Warne, Paul	Maryville (TN)
W Michigan U	Gavlas, Heather	Grand Valley S
W Virginia, U of	Zhao, Cheng	Indiana S U
Washington S U	Burke, Matthew	Lycoming C
Washington S U	Larson, James	Colby C
Washington U	Dayawansa, Wijesuriya	Texas Tech
Washington U	Shepherd, Mary	SUNY, Potsdm
Washington, U of	Guo, Li	Rutgers, Newark
Washington, U of	Higdon, David	Duke U
Washington, U of	Kahn, Mike	St Olaf C
Washington, U of	Li, Zhilin	Mississippi S
Washington, U of	Verzani, John	CUNY, StatIsl
Wayne S U	Reimann, David	Albion C
Wesleyan U	Liu, Gouvang	Catholic U
Wisconsn, Madsn	Evans, Kellie	York C of PA
Wisconsn, Madsn	Halverson, Thomas	Macalester C
Yale U	Gu, Ming	UC, Los Angeles
Yale U	Wu, Sijue	Iowa, U of
AUSTRL-Queensland	Stewart, Dave	Virginia Tech
CAN-Alberta	Habala, Petr	Texas, Austin
CAN-McMaster	Harding, John	New Mexico S U
CAN-Windsor	Obuchowska, Wieslawa	Nebraska, Oma
CIS-Acad of Science	Shamyakin, Arkady	St Thomas, U of
CIS-Moscow S U	Levin, Aleksandr	Catholic U
CIS-Tbilisi	Gullsashvili, Archil	Ohio U
GER-Saarland	Popescu, Sorin	Columbia U
ISR-Hebrew	Nowick, Tahl	Columbia U
UK-London, U of	Adnan, Saad	MissippiValley
Chicago, U of	Wheeler, Brannon	Washington, U of
Columbia U	Salzmana, Ariel	New York U
Michigan Tech	Islam, Suhail	Colby-Sawyer C
Utah, U of	Ghadissi, Maryam	Monash-AUSTRL
FRN Strasbourg	Nichanian, Marc	Columbia U
GER-Munich	Englund, Robert K.	UC, Los Angeles
UK-Oxford	Kennedy, Phillip	New York U
Abilene Christian	Tolosa, Gustavo	Eastman Sch Music
Alabama, U of	Douglas-Brown, D.	N Alabama, U of
Alabama, U of	Orman, Evelyn K.	George Mason U
Alabama, U of	Scheib, Joy	Wiscnsn, RiverF
Arizona S U	Hansen, Deborah	Whitworth C
Arizona, U of	Boers, P. Geoffrey	Washington, U of
Arizona, U of	Burns, Kimberly J.	Ball S U
Arizona, U of	Clauter, Nancy	Luther C
Arizona, U of	Hughes, Thomas	Texas Tech
Austin S U	Brumfield, Susan	Texas Tech
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Ball S U	Creasap, Susan	Moorehead S U
Ball S U	Harris, Kristine	Ozarks, C of
Ball S U	Hendricks, Steven	Bemidji S U
Ball S U	Innis, Joy	Banff Cntr for Arts-
Ball S U	Locke, Scott	Murray S U
Ball S U	Rediger, JoAnn	Taylor U
Ball S U	Sadler, Judy	Northwest Nazarene
Brigham Young U	Belnap, Michael Keith	Indiana, Blmngtn
Catholic U	Griggs, Patricia	Shenandoah U
Catholic U	Hawkins, Scott	Shenandoah U
Catholic U	Holt, Joseph	American U
Catholic U	Litzelman, James	Catholic U Amer
Catholic U	Norcoss, Brian	Franklin & Marshall
Catholic U	Pesses, Michael	Pacific U
Catholic U	Rooney, Patrick	James Madison
Catholic U	Ruhling, Michael	Goshen C
Catholic U	Teske, Casey	Clarion S U
Chicago, U of	Fritts, Lawrence	Iowa, U of
Cincinnati, U of	Barefield, Robert	S Methodist U
Cincinnati, U of	Lynch, John	Emory U
Cincinnati, U of	Randall, Annie	Bucknell U
Cincinnati, U of	You, Yali	Hamline U
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Cornell U	Taylor, Stephanie	Illinois S U
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CUNY	Goldstein, Thomas	Maryland, BaltCnty
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CUNY	Nuss, Steven	Colby C
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E Tennessee S	Tottle, Jack	E Tennessee S
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Eastman Schl Music	Bugbee, Fred	New Mexico S U
Eastman Schl Music	Evans, Charles	Coastal Carolina
Eastman Schl Music	Hensel, Larry	Wyoming, U of
Eastman Schl Music	Meville, Nicola	Heidelberg C
Eastman Schl Music	Waterbury, Susan	Memphis, U of
Florida S U	Barton, Karl	Thomas C
Florida S U	Bergeest, Lothar	Mississippi, U of
Florida S U	Chambers, Heather	Centre C
Florida S U	Chambers, Mark	E Kentucky U
Florida S U	Connors, Thomas	Kent S U
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Florida S U	Hannah, Melissa	St Cloud S U
Florida S U	Jetter, Katherine	Ft Lewis C
Florida S U	Martin, Roger	Tennessee Tech
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Florida S U	Misenhelter, Dale	Alabama, U of

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FERENCES

(RE)DEFINING BLACK STUDIES

The Department of Black Studies at The Ohio State University will host a national symposium on "BLACK STUDIES: (RE)DEFINING A DISCIPLINE," intended to examine some of the major challenges and issues confronting Black Studies which are likely to affect its development and direction as we approach the 21st century. Speakers will include: Niara Sudakasa, Ali Mazrui, Sharon Harley, John Bracey, Cedric Robinson, Carol Boyce-Davies, Joseph Harris, Manthia Diawara, Delores Aldridge, Joan Dayan and Earl Lewis. There will also be a policy-oriented workshop for Heads of Departments and Directors of Programs. For more information contact: Professor Paulette Pierce, Department of Black Studies, The Ohio State University, 486 University Hall, Columbus, OH 43210. Tel: (614) 292-9298, fax: (614) 292-2293, e-mail Pierce.1@OSU.edu.

Columbus, OH: May 22-24, 1997

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND CULTURE

What does psychoanalysis as a theory of mind contribute to the understanding of culture? What impact does culture have on the evolution of psychoanalytic thought? These questions will be discussed at The New York Psychoanalytic Institute and Society's 1997 conference, "Psychoanalysis and Culture." This one-day conference, which is open to the public and free of charge, will consist of two discussions (one from 9 a.m. to 12p.m.; the other from 2 p.m. to5 p.m.), featuring Vincent Crapanzano, Ph.D., Peter Gay, Ph.D., Jonathan Lear, Ph.D., Peter Loewenberg, Ph.D., Robert Michels, M.D., and Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, Ph.D. The conference will be held at The New York Academy of Medicine, 1216 Fifth Avenue (enter at 2 East 103rd Street). For more information, please see the website of the A.A. Brill Library, Freudnet, at http://www.interport.net/nypsan; or e-mail to 73313,1116@compuserve.com. Or, you may telephone (212) 879-6900 or fax (212) 879-0588. You may also write the New York Psychoanalytic Society and Institute at 247 East 82nd St., New York, NY 10028.

New York, NY: March 15, 1997

[illegible]

The organizers of the Seventh Annual Women's Studies Conference at Southern Connecticut State University are inviting submissions including proposals for papers, roundtable discussions, workshops, performances, slide/video shows, poster sessions and works in progress. The conference will explore Latina issues and influences across an interdisciplinary spectrum including, but not limited to: anthropology, demographics, economics, education and pedagogy, history, language, law, literature, philosophy, politics, psychology, religion, sociology, and the visual and performing arts. Theoretical perspectives may include cultural studies, feminism, Lesbian theory, Marxism, postmodernism, post-structuralism, queer theory, and racial theory. Activist and community-based approaches are also welcome. Send proposals postmarked by June 2, 1997 by e-mail to WOMENSTUDIES@SCSU.CTSTATEU.EDU or fax (203) 392-6723, or by mail to Dr. Vara Neverow, Women's Studies, EN271, Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, CT 06515. Telephone: (203) 392-6133/6717/5864.

New Haven, CT: October 3-5, 1997

BEYOND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

[illegible] freedom on North American [illegible]. Panels will focus on academ[illegible] tenure, student life and speech [illegible]" and the general differ[illegible]ce, which will begin early [illegible] present sixteen featured speakers, [illegible] of Scholars), Mary Burgan [illegible] University of Pennsylvania), John K. [illegible]), D. Bruce Johnstone (former [illegible] de Russy (Member, SUNY [illegible] speaker. For more information, [illegible].edu.

Buffalo, NY: April 25-26, 1997

PERFORMANCE AND TEXT

The Hammerstein Center at Columbia University presents its first annual theatre conference. "Thinking and Doing: Performance and Text" will bring together theatre theorists and practitioners to explore the position of text in theatrical production. In three days of workshops, lectures, panel discussions, and performances, the conference will address the following questions: What is a story and how is it told? Who owns text before, during, and after performance? How are bodies and space themselves text? How does theatrical text inherit, appropriate, and create history and culture?

The conference date is set to coincide with the MFA actors' thesis production, *American Silents*, created and directed by Anne Bogart. Please direct inquiries to: Carrie Ryan, Columbia University, Oscar Hammerstein II Center for Theatre Studies, 2960 Broadway, Mailcode 1807, 601 Dodge Hall, New York, NY 10027 or e-mail Heidi Coleman, hbc3@columbia.edu.

New York, NY: May 2-4, 1997

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COLONIALISM: FORMATIONS AND IMAGES

The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies invites papers for its 31st Annual Conference. This year's conference, "Comparative Colonialisms: Preindustrial Colonial Intersections in Global Perspective," is designed to explore the diversity and complexities of demographic and cultural intersections (and resistance to intersection) in a range of colonial settings, from the end of antiquity to the eighteenth century. We invite submissions on medieval and early modern European colonial formations and experiences; on the Ottoman Empire; and on regions and power structures relatively remote from European influence. We encourage comparative discussions and presentations on the role of representations both within colonial cultural formations and in descriptions of them. Plenary speakers include Anthony Reid, Canberra; Walter Mignolo, Duke; and Gwendolyn M. Hall, Rutgers. Please send submissions to Charles Burroughs, Director, CEMERS, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000, or call (607) 777-2730 for more information. Or you may e-mail cemers@binghamton.edu.

Binghamton, NY: October 31-November 1, 1997

UNIVERSITY AS WORKPLACE

Academic "temp" jobs are replacing tenure-track positions; union busting is becoming a specialty of the university; the salaries of university administrators are skyrocketing; and the *right* to education will soon be the *privilege* to be educated. *It's time to fight back.* Join Massachusetts Jobs with Justice, Massachusetts AAUP, the Center for Campus Organizing, the Communication Workers of America and others for a strategic conference on the university workplace. Workshops to be offered include "The Contingent Campus," "Accessing Education," and "New Organizing Strategies." For more information, contact Jennifer Berkshire, Academic Committee for Workplace Justice, 5 Magazine St., Cambridge, MA 02139. Fax (617) 491-1094, telephone (617) 491-2525, or e-mail jwj@igc.apc.org.

Boston, MA: April 5, 1997

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Florida S U	Williams, Moffatt	Stetson U
Florida S U	Zielke, Steven	Arizona, U of
Florida, U of	Eaton, Renee	S Illinois, Edwrds
Florida, U of	Hudson, Mark	Limestone C
Georgia, U of	Bender, Rhett	S Oregon S C
Harvard U	Krims, Adam	Alberta-CAN
Holy Names C	Xiques, David	Holy Names C
Illinois, Chicago	Perkins, Caroline	DePauw U
Illinois, Chicago	Zielinski, Richard	Indiana S U
Illinois, U of	Lemons, Mary	LebanonValley
Illinois, U of	Russell, Melinda	Carleton C
Illinois, Urbana	Coan, Darryl	S Illinois, Edwrds
Illinois, Urbana	Krueger, Michael	Morningside C
Indiana U	Harb, Charlene	Mdl Tennessee
Indiana U	Liotta, Vincent J.	Indiana, Blmngtn
Indiana U	McCarrey, Scott	Brighm Yng, HI
Indiana U	Neely-Chandler, T.	Spelman C
Indiana U	Reed, Teresa	Tulsa, U of
Indiana U	Scott, Michael	Concordia, StPl
Indiana U	van der Beck, Ralph H.	Utah S U
Iowa, U of	Belser, Robert	Wyoming, U of
Iowa, U of	King, Terry	Texas Tech
Iowa, U of	Macomber, Jeffrey	Bemidji S U
Iowa, U of	McReynolds, Myron	Albion C
Iowa, U of	Ruiter-Feenstra, Pamela	E Michigan U
Iowa, U of	Sharpe, Paul	Texas Tech
Iowa, U of	Suderman, Mark	Georgetown C
Iowa, U of	Taddie, Ann	Maryville (TN)
Iowa, U of	Weber, Paul	Lenoir-Rhyne C
Johns Hopkins	Dolezal, Darry	Missouri, Clmb
Juilliard Schl	Kim, Michael	Lawrence U
Juilliard Schl	Littlefield, Cameron	Idaho, U of
Kansas, U of	Auffarth, Mark	SE Louisiana U
Kent S U	McAllister, Peter A.	Ball S U
Kentucky, U of	Harrold, Robert	Fort Hays S U
Louisiana S U	Davis, Hope	Baldwin-Wallace
Mannes C of Music	Diamond, Douglas	Grinnell C
Maryland, U of	Wulfhorst, Dieter	Indiana U of PA
Memphis, U of	Carroll, Kevin	Fisk U
Miami, U of	Grant, Darrell	Portland S U
Michigan S U	Cole, Kimberley	E Michigan U
Michigan S U	Wilcott, Ronald	S Carolina, Aiken
Michigan, U of	D'Addio, Daniel	Cntrl Connecticut
Michigan, U of	Gaunt, Kyra	Virginia, U of
Michigan, U of	Koga, Midori	Michigan S U
Michigan, U of	Lysloff, Rene	UC, Riverside
Michigan, U of	McMullen, Diane	Union C (NY)
Michigan, U of	Mordue, Mark L.	Ball S U
Michigan, U of	Taylor, Timothy	Columbia U
Michigan, U of	Vance, Paul	Winona S U
Michigan, U of	Wong, Deborah	UC, Riverside
Minnesota, U of	Adamek, Mary	Iowa, U of
Minnesota, U of	Hamessley, Lydia	Hamilton C
Missouri, U of	Dunham, Robert	Cal S, SnBrndno
Missouri, U of	Jagon, Shelley	Wright S U
Missouri, U of	Kennedy, John	Cal S, LosAngls
Missouri, U of	Nolker, Brett	Augustana C (IL)
Morgan S U	Mallory, Lloyd	Oakwood C
N Carolina, U of	Bennett, Alan Lee	Indiana, Blmngtn
N Colorado, U of	Bell, Sondra	Gustavus Adolph
N Colorado, U of	Fraser, Teresa	Northeastern S U
N Colorado, U of	Landry, Dana	Mdl Tennessee
N Colorado, U of	MacDonald, R. Richard	Winona S U
N Colorado, U of	Stamer, Rick A.	Utah S U
N Texas, U of	Spence, Marcia	Missouri, Clmb
N/A	Relyea, Gary	Br Columbia-CAN
New England Cnsrv	Todd, JoElla	Missouri, Clmb
New Orleans, U of	Watters, Harry	SE Louisiana U
New York U	Kisliuk, Michelle	Virginia, U of
Norfolk S U	Wells, Donovan	BethuneCookmn
Northwestern U	Bussert, Victoria	Baldwin-Wallace
Northwestern U	Cain, Bruce	Southwestern U
Northwestern U	Sullivan, Todd	Indiana S U
Northwestern U	Twomey, Michael	Dickinson C
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Ohio S U	Hollenbeck, Eric	Alabama, Brmng
Oklahoma, U of	DeSeguirant, David	U of the Ozarks
Oral Roberts U	Sutliff, Richard	Oral Roberts U
Oregon, U of	Farrell, Tim	Valley City S
Oregon, U of	March, Wendy	Cal S, Fresno
Penn, U of	Blechner, Andrew	Westchester C
Penn, U of	Crumb, David	Duke U
Penn, U of	Hoyt, Peter	Wesleyan U
Penn, U of	Jalbert, Pierre	Rice U
Penn, U of	Korstvedt, Benjamin	Iowa, U of
Penn, U of	Olsen, Morten	N/A-AUSTRIA
PrairieViewAM	O'Neal, Ronald	Jarvis Christian C
Princeton U	Sheppard, W. Anthony	Williams C
Rochester, U of	Heardon, Kathryn	Shippensburg
Rutgers U	Lindeman, Stephan	Brigham Young U
Rutgers U	Ross, Julian	Baldwin-Wallace
Rutgers U	Shinehouse, Patricia	Drake U
S Baptist Theol Sem	Dennis, Pam	Union U
S Carolina, U of	Bankston, David	Coastal Carolina
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S Carolina, U of	Kirkland, Norma	Anderson C
S Carolina, U of	Shotts, Ouida	Pfeiffer U
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Washington, U of	Lang, Barbara Rose	Houston, U of
Webster U	Herman, Sara	Missouri, St L
Wesleyan U	Perlman, Marc	Brown U
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Yale U	Woldu, Gail	Trinity C (CT)
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Pittsburgh, U of	Parsons, Keith	Houston, ClrLk
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Princeton U	McGowan, Mary	Maryland, BaltCnty
Princeton U	O'Rourke, Michael	Idaho, U of
Princeton U	Thau, Michael	UC, Los Angeles
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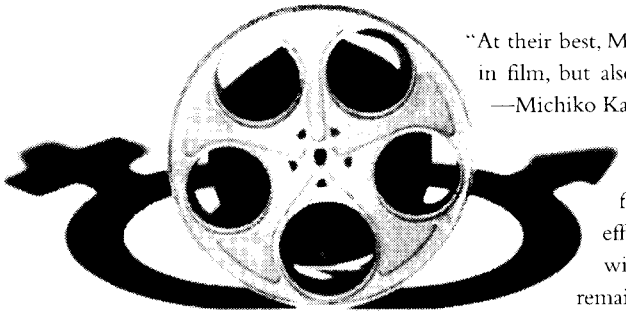

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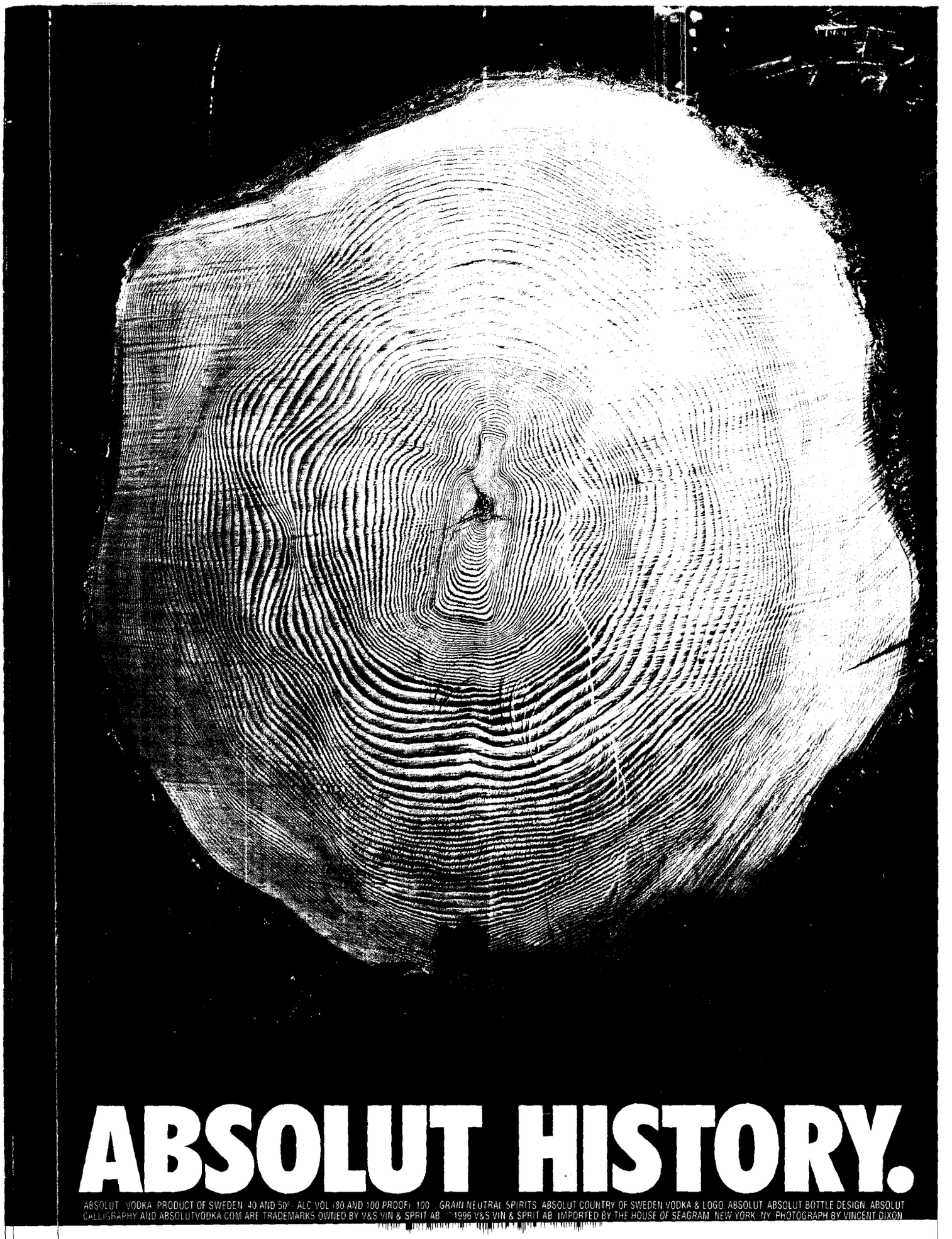

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